

FOREIGN BIOGRAPHIES OF SHIVAJI

FOREIGN BIOGRAPHIES OF SHIVAJI

SURENDRA NATH SEN

With an introduction by
Aniruddha Ray

**K. P. BAGCHI & COMPANY
CALCUTTA**

First Published 1927
Second Revised Edition 1958

*This publication has been sponsored by Indian Council of Historical
Research, New Delhi, under their Reprint Programme*

Published by K. K. Bagchi on behalf of K. P. Bagchi & Co., 286 B. B.
Ganguli Street, Calcutta 700 012 and Printed by D. N. Basu at Ananda
Press and Publications Private Limited, 248 C. I. T. Road, Calcutta 700 054.

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Foreword	v
Introduction by Aniruddha Roy	vii
Preface	xv
Introduction	1
Life of the Celebrated Sevagy (Cosme da Guarda)	29
The History of Raja Sivagy (Jean de Thévenot)	135
History of Seva-Gy (Barthélemy Carré)	145
Sequel to the History of Seva-Gy (Barthélemy Carré)	165
The Karnatak Expedition (François Martin)	189
Description of Surrate (François Valentine)	247
Extracts from Dutch Records	257
English Embassies to the Court of Shivaji (Selections from English Records)	271
Additional Notes	319
Index	323

PREFACE

The first volume of this series was published in 1920. It was then intended to include an English translation of Marathi letters and historical documents of Shivaji's time in the next. I could not take up the work immediately in hand. Meanwhile the Government of Bombay decided to bring out a comprehensive source book of Maratha history, and the task of editing and compiling it was entrusted to more competent scholars. I have, therefore, selected for translation and publication in this volume only such foreign works and contemporary documents as will not be included in the source book mentioned above. My attempt has been to place before the average University student the raw materials of Maratha history while avoiding unnecessary reduplication of work. Extracts from Fryer and Bernier and contemporary English account of the first and second sack of Surat have, therefore, been omitted, as I am informed by Principal H. G. Rawlinson that these will find a place in his volume.

Cosme da Guarda's *Vida e Acçoens do famoso e felicissimo Sevagy* is for the first time translated here. The original Portuguese work is extremely rare, only few copies having survived. I had no access to the only copy that found its way to India, and I read Guarda's book for the first time at Lisbon in September 1926. The Director of the Biblioteca Nacional very kindly permitted me to take this book out of the library for a few days and thus afforded me an opportunity of translating it with the help of my friend and teacher Sr. Francisco Rebello Gonçalves of the Faculty of Letters, Lisbon University. After my return home I perceived the necessity of revising my hasty translation and Dr. David Lopes, Professor of Arabic in the University of Lisbon, very generously got the whole of the Portuguese text transcribed for me. My friend Dr. Placido de Bragança Cunha, Lecturer in Portuguese in the University of Calcutta, helped me in accurately translating some of the most difficult and obscure passages.

Jean de Thevenot's *Voyages* was translated into English as early as 1686, but it is so extremely rare that I need not offer

PREFACE

any apology for reprinting the relevant chapter. I copied Carré's chapters on Shivaji while at Paris in April 1927, and finished my translation soon after my arrival at Calcutta in July of that year. My translation of Carré's *Histoire de Sevagy* was first published, without annotation, in the now defunct *Forward* in January 1928, and in the following month a revised and annotated translation appeared in the pages of the *Calcutta Review*. In September next Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's translation of the *Histoire de Sevagy* and *Suite de L'histoire de Sevagy* was published in the *Historical Miscellany* of the *Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal*. Unfortunately his translation is not only incomplete but sometimes inaccurate, and I thought it necessary to include my own rendering of Carré in the present volume. François Martin's *Memoirs* still remains unpublished, and it is hoped, and English translation of the relevant portion will be of some use not only to the University students but even to those scholars who have no access to the original. Valentine's *East Indies Old and New* is not a contemporary work, but the author had access to contemporary Dutch records and his book is no longer easily accessible. I am indebted to Miss M. J. Bremner for the translation published here. Some of the Dutch and English records, published in these pages, were transcribed by me, for the rest I am indebted to Miss L. M. Anstey of the India office.

Original spelling of proper names has been retained in every case, with the single exception of Miss Bremner's translation of Valentine. Lack of space did not permit a fuller account of Shivaji's political relations with the English East India Company in the Introduction, but it is hoped that the records in the text will give a sufficiently intelligible story. I could not trace Stephen Ustick's Journal or Report, though it is mentioned in one of the letters of that time. In all probability, it has been misplaced and lost.

My thanks are due to my friends and colleagues Mr. Sailendra Nath Mitra and Dr. Probodh Chandra Bagchi for kindly revising my manuscripts. Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari of Madras has placed me under a great obligation by supplying some topographical notes. The index has been kindly prepared by my friends and pupils Mr. Pratul Chandra Gupta, B.A., and Mr. Surath Chandra Sen Gupta, M.A.

PREFACE

Figures within square brackets indicate page and folio number in the original book or manuscript.

For the short biographical sketch of François Martin I am indebted to Prof. Kaepelin's famous work.

I am grateful to Mr. D. V. Apte for giving me an opportunity of making a humble contribution to the useful series he is preparing.

Senate House
Calcutta
7th October 1927

S. N. S.

INTRODUCTION

European Biographers of Shivaji

Shivaji's fame reached Europe while he was yet alive. His heroic exploits, daring deeds and clever stratagems had found a fitting place in the accounts of contemporary English, French, Dutch, Portuguese and Italian writers long before the name of the Marathas became known to the world outside. In 1659, the year of Afzal Khan's death, the English Factors of Rajapur wrote to their superiors at Surat of "Sevagy, a great Rashpoote"; Father Navarette, who visited India in 1670, thought that Shivaji was a Moghul; and the anonymous author of the *Relation ou Journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes Orientales* (Paris, 1677) asserted that Shivaji was descended from the ancient emperors of India and was a relative of the Great Moghul. Such inaccuracies were inevitable, but it was quite in the fitness of things that the dreaded plunderer of Surat should form a constant subject of enquiry and conversation among the European visitors of Western India. Some of them had recognised that Shivaji was more than a rebel chief; he was a great general and a greater statesman. To these intelligent observers we are indebted for the earliest biographies of the Maratha hero. It is futile to expect from them unimpeachable accuracy or impartial history, but they have preserved for us a number of interesting anecdotes, contemporary gossips and incidentally some information of real historical value. Some of these foreign writers were men of good education and real learning: Fryer was a Doctor of Medicine, Bernier and Dellon belonged to the same learned profession, Thévenot was a man of wide cultural interests, Navarette, Carré and Ovington were clergymen; but they all suffered from defects of the same kind, if not of the same degree. Ovington was guilty of two serious mistakes in a single sentence about the first sack of Surat, although he visited that city only twenty-five years after the incident. In spite of these obvious defects no serious student of Maratha history can afford to ignore the testimony of these European writers; if

they lacked accuracy and precision, they alone could and did transmit a faithful portrait of Shivaji as his contemporaries knew and saw him.

Cosme da Guarda

Most of them have mentioned Shivaji only incidentally. Though Thévenot, Père d'Orleans and Carré have devoted interesting chapters to the career of Shivaji, the credit of first attempting a systematic biography belongs to Cosme da Guarda. He wrote in Portuguese and described himself as an inhabitant of Marmugao near Goa. He was an enthusiastic admirer of Shivaji and was quite familiar with the manners and customs of Western India. He had a smattering of Persian and Urdu, as appears from his writing, and this is all that we know about him. He wrote his *Vida e accoens do famoso e felicissimo Sevagy* in 1695, one year after Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad, the first Maratha biographer of Shivaji, finished his chronicle, and we are further told that he contemplated another historical work, but whether this plan was ever executed is more than we can tell. His *Life of Shivaji* did not see the light till 1730, when the author was apparently no longer in the land of the living. The publisher tells us that he did not know who Cosme da Guarda was, and that the manuscript came to his hand quite by accident. By 1730 the Maratha empire had extended far and wide and the very existence of the Portuguese as an independent power in the Malabar coast was seriously threatened. The Portuguese at home apparently took considerable interest in Indian affairs, and the demand for fresh news was met, however inadequately, by small pamphlets of eight to sixteen pages published annually. Some of these pamphlets are still to be seen in the Biblioteca Nacional of Lisbon. An elaborate biography of the founder of the Maratha power could, therefore, be expected to have a wide circulation. In his letter, dated the 5th January 1733, to the Count of Unhão, Antonio Cardim Froes recommends to that nobleman the *Life of the celebrated Shivaji* published in the previous monsoon. This was undoubtedly Guarda's biography of Shivaji and evidently it had gained some popularity among the Portuguese officers serving in India.

In those days of strict censorship no book could be sent

to the press without the previous sanction of the proper authorities. Such permission was probably sought early in 1729, for, Dom Antonio Cæetano de Sousa signified his approval of the work on the 25th of May, 1729, while the recommendations of Fr. Manoel da Esperança and Fr. R. de Lancastro Cunha Teixeira Sylva were dated the 26th and the 29th March respectively. Among the gentlemen who were consulted about the merits of the manuscript was the Count of Ericeira, who, as a previous head of the Portuguese Government in India, could be expected to give an expert opinion. He wrote that it was not possible to verify the truth of all the statements, but on the whole the narrative appeared to be accurate and correct. He, however, hesitated to accept Guarda's assertion that Shivaji, disloyal to his God and King, was a scion of the Menezes family, though his valour and military skill might suggest such a relationship. According to him, the style shows that the book was written in India and in his conciseness the author proved himself free from the common vice of the Asiatics, who were opposed to a laconic style. It has been suggested by some that Cosme da Guarda wrote under an assumed name, while the late Sr. Ismael Gracias was of opinion that he was a Portuguese and not a Goanese. Internal evidence shows that Guarda was an orthodox Roman Catholic. His approval of most of the Indian customs mentioned in his work might very well suggest an Indian origin, but his ignorance of Hindu law of marriage would strongly contradict such a theory.

Incomplete and unreliable as Cosme da Guarda's information mostly was, his biography is not without its value. As a staunch Roman Catholic, he could not have any sympathy for the great pagan soldier, and he unhesitatingly prophesied an unhappy time for him in the other world. His testimony about Shivaji's love of justice and solicitude for the welfare of his subjects can, therefore, be accepted as unimpeachable, and it may be reasonably inferred from Cosme da Guarda's writings, that his Portuguese neighbours held very high opinion about the generalship and statesman-like qualities of Shivaji. Nor is it correct to hold that we learn nothing new about Shivaji from Cosme da Guarda. No other author, Indian or European, had anything to say about the naval battle near Marmugão and Guarda's account of this conflict between the Marathas and the

Portuguese is corroborated by unpublished papers in the *Arquivo Ultramarino* of Lisbon. Though he divided his narrative into a number of independent chapters, Cosme da Guarda did not follow the chronological order. He seems to have been well aware of this defect, for at the conclusion of Chapter XVII he says that events mentioned in the previous chapter succeeded what he had just related.

French Writers

Several French travellers, merchants, physicians and adventurers visited India during the middle of the 17th century. Some of them, like Bernier and Tavernier, came to the country before the first sack of Surat, others like Thévenot and Carré arrived at that famous port when Shivaji had already become a terror to the timid merchants trading there. It is, therefore, natural that Shivaji should be mentioned in their published and unpublished works, though their information cannot be always expected to be accurate. That indefatigable and industrious historian Robert Orme was familiar with the works of Tavernier (1640-1666), Bernier (1659-1667), Thévenot (1665-1667), Dellon (1669-1676), Carré (1668-1673), De la Haye (1670-1674), and an anonymous work entitled *Relation ou Journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes Orientales* published at Paris in 1677. He mentions the *Histoire de Sevagi et de son successeur Nouveaux Conquerans dans l'Inde* by Père D'Orleans, Jesuit, added to his *Histoire des deux Conquerans Tartares qui ont subjugué la Chine* (Paris 1688), but does not seem to have any knowledge of the unpublished manuscript of François Martin, the famous Governor of Pondichery, namely, the "*Memoires sur l'établissement des colonies Françaises aux Indes Orientales, 1664-1696*." Nor does he refer to the contemporary letters of Baron and Blot, now in the colonial archives of Paris or to the "*Journaux des voyages de France à Suratte à la côte de Malabar, à celle de Coromandel, Malaca, Syam, etc. par le navire le Vautour de la campagne des Indes en 1676 jusqu'en 1680*" (Now in the Marine archives A. M. B.⁴ 7) which briefly refers to Shivaji's Karnatak expedition.

Thévenot and Carré

Of the published French works, Bernier, Tavernier, Dellon

and Thévenot have long been rendered into English. The first three can be briefly dismissed, as they have nothing but short, though sometimes eulogistic, references to Shivaji. Thévenot, however, attempted a short biographical sketch of the Maratha hero, and Prof. J. N. Sarkar's claim for Père d'Orleans' *Histoire de Sevagi* to be the earliest biography of that prince cannot, therefore, be maintained. Monsieur de Thévenot reached Surat Bar on the 10th January, 1666. He was a well educated man and his posthumous work was translated into English as early as 1687. Chapter XVI of *The Travels of Monsieur de Thévenot* (pp. 27-30) deals with Shivaji, and Orme was of opinion that Thévenot's account of Shivaji is more reliable than that of any other traveller. A short summary of the brief chapter may, therefore, be added here to illustrate its glaring inaccuracies and the comparative superiority of Carré over Thévenot, as a biographer of Shivaji.

According to Thévenot, Shivaji was born at Bassein and was 35 in 1664, when he sacked Surat. Thévenot does not mention the Afzal Khan incident but tells us that Shivaji's father died in prison at Bijapur. His version of the surprise night-attack on Shaista Khan is also slightly different from the current account. Shivaji, he informs us, induced one of his officers to enlist in the Moghul service with a body of cavalry and this man so far won the confidence of Shaista Khan that Shivaji had no difficulty in surprising him in his bed chamber and taking away a daughter of the Khan, who was treated with all honour. Shivaji himself explored the shortest and safest route to Surat in the disguise of a Fakir. As to the amount of the spoil the rich city yielded, the French writer says: "It is believed at Surat that this Raja carried away in jewels, gold and silver to the value of above thirty French millions; for in the house of one Banian he found twenty-two pound weight of strung pearls besides a great quantity of others that were not as yet pierced" (p. 29). We are also told that the convent of the Capuchins and the Christians in general were spared at the request of Father Ambrose. Jai Singh's expedition is omitted but Shivaji's visit to the imperial court is described. The Maratha prince effected his escape by means of a passport he had secured on the pretence of joining the Moghul expedition to Kandahar. Thévenot shared the common belief of the time

that the hardships of the journey had caused the death of Shivaji's young son. His brief account is concluded as follows: "The Raja is short and tawny, with quick eyes that shew a great deal of wit. He eats but once a day commonly, and is in good health; and when he plundered Surrat in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-four, he was but of thirty-five years of age."

De la Haye has not much to say about the Maratha hero. He mentions the first sack of Surat (pt. 1, p. 106 of his Journal) and informs us that European nations removed their belongings from the doomed city. He further adds (pt. 1, p. 110) that the Musulmans of Surat were compelled to undergo some expenses to defend their city from the expeditions of Shivaji, a rebel prince who had plundered Surat within fifteen years. Nothing is known about the author of the *Relation ou Journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes Orientales* except that he left for India in 1671 with M. Belot, the French Director of Surat, in the *Jean Baptiste* and that he returned home after visiting Java and the adjacent islands. According to him, Shivaji's fleet, manned by the Malabarais, used to scour to the sea and plunder the merchantmen. The spoils were distributed among the sailors and only a small portion was reserved for their master (p. 54). Shivaji used to extort money from the merchants of Surat at regular intervals, and in 1670 he surprised the city at the head of twenty-thousand good soldiers and took more than forty-thousand (Rupees ?) principally from the English and the Dutch Factories without demanding anything from the Royal Company of France. A company of eight hundred men had appeared before the French Factory, but Monsieur Caron, the Director-General, took a firm attitude and succeeded in frightening away the disorderly Marathas. The city was plundered for eight days, a large number of houses and shops was demolished, and from one of the shops Shivaji took forty pounds of fine pearls, besides a large quantity of gold chains and precious stones (pp. 55-57). The *Histoire de Sevagi* by Père d'Orleans was translated into English by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar a few years ago. "This account," says Orme, "which is very short is composed from one written at Goa. It does not give a single date, and only a few facts, without precision and better known before."

Barthelemy Carré had accompanied Caron, a Dutchman,—

who had left the service of his own country to be appointed Director-General of the French Company by Colbert—and arrived at Surat in 1668. He went home in 1671 and returned to India again in 1672. In 1699 was published his *Voyage des Indes Orientales mêlé de plusieurs histoires curieuses* at Paris in two small volumes, which contained among other things an interesting biography of Shivaji whom Carré ardently admired. In the first volume was recorded what Carré had learnt about the great prince during his first voyage, and his mistake about the date of the second sack of Surat was probably due to his absence from India at the time. He carried the narrative in his second volume supplementing the History of Seva-gy with what he learnt about him subsequently. The new chapter is, therefore, entitled “Suite de l’histoire de Seva-gy” or sequel to the history of Seva-gy. It is needless to say that Carré’s work is of unequal value. His account of the two sacks of Surat, the Maratha raid into Bardes and Shivaji’s conciliatory policy towards the European merchant nations is substantially correct, but there is much in his History and its sequel that is no better than ordinary bazar gossip. About the early career of Shivaji he was hopelessly ignorant. Probably he had learnt during his sojourn in the country that Shivaji was originally a subject of the King of Bijapur, but he did not know that Shivaji had already asserted his independence long before he surprised Shaista Khan in his seraglio. I am, however, unable to share Orme’s view that “All that he says in the first, which relates only to the outset of Seva-gi’s fortune, is either erroneous or too confused to be reduced to order.” As readers of the following pages will perceive, Carré shows a fairly good knowledge of the chronology of the events he sets to narrate. He starts with the Shaista Khan incident (1663), then follow the first sack of Surat (1664), the expedition of Jai Singh (1665), the journey to Agra (1666) and the second sack of Surat (1670). The only instance of any chronological mistake that can be detected in this chapter is that regarding the Maratha invasion of Bardes, which took place in 1667 but which Carré places before the arrival of Jai Singh in the Deccan. Otherwise this chapter is flawless if we judge it from a chronological point of view alone, and the historical errors, if we except the early career of Shivaji, are by no means serious. In volume Carré’s biography

of Shivaji is inferior only to *Vida e acçoens do famoso e felicissimo Sevagy* of Cosme da Guarda among contemporary European works on Shivaji, but in accuracy and wealth of details it was practically unrivalled at the time of its publication.

Carré begins his *Sequel to the History of Shivaji* with an account of the Afzal Khan incident, as it had been reported to him. His version of Moro Pant's expedition against Jawhar and Ramnagar is substantially correct, nor was his information about the contribution levied by the king of Ramnagar upon the Portuguese of Daman in any way unreliable. His report of the negotiation between the Portuguese and Shivaji about this tribute, therefore, deserves a careful examination, particularly as he claims to have been present when the Maratha embassy reached Daman. Carré's encomiums on Sambhaji were evidently ill-placed. Sambhaji was undoubtedly a good soldier and an able general, but he had inherited neither the statesman-like qualities nor the moral virtues of his father. The close friendship between the son of Aurangzib and Sambhaji must be treated as a fiction, although its authorship need not be attributed to the French priest. Probably the Maratha Governor of Chaul invented many such tales to divert his European guest. Like Cosme da Guarda, Carré was also an enthusiastic admirer of Shivaji and in him we come across an impartial witness who testifies to the respect and admiration in which the Maratha hero was held not only by his officers and subjects but also by his enemies and adversaries.

François Martin

Martin served the French East India Company for forty eventful years and, as one who took a keen interest in the Karnatak affairs, his account of the Maratha activities in that region is of the greatest value and importance. About his family and childhood very little is known. He was born in 1634 probably at Paris. His father Giles Martin was an opulent grocer, but unfortunately François was born out of wedlock and after his father's sudden death in 1650 he was turned out of the house by his brother, the only legitimate son of his father. In 1653 he was formally legitimatised; but as he did not get any share of his father's property, he had to serve as a grocer's boy. About

1662 he married Marine Cuperly, daughter of a fish-woman, and lost his job, as his employer did not want a married boy. Martin did not get any work and his wife had to sell fish to earn their living. Reduced to great despair, Martin waited upon the Directors of the newly founded East India Company and obtained the office of a sub-merchant on a salary of 600 livres or four hundred rupees per year. He left for India in 1665. In 1670 he was at Surat and heard a rumour that Shivaji contemplated a second sack of that wealthy emporium of oriental trade. He was with De la Haye during the siege of San Thomé, and on the 13th January 1764 he left that place with one hundred and fifty men only under cover of night. His resources were extremely meagre and consisted of the paltry sum of sixty pagodas that he carried on his person and twenty to twenty-five *louis* in the possession of his friend Lespinay. Thus began the enterprise that ultimately resulted in the foundation of Pondichery.

As an ally of Sher Khan Lodi of Valikundapuram, Martin closely watched the political movements in the neighbourhood. He was not, however, quite ignorant of what was going on in Western India. In August 1675 he received some letters from Monsieur Baron, then at Rajapur, informing him of Shivaji's fresh conquests at the expense of the King of Bijapur. Martin also learnt that Phonda, an important place about four to five leagues from Goa, had been recently reduced by Shivaji. The French Director at this time intended to bring about an understanding between Shivaji and Bahlol Khan, the Commander-in-Chief of the Bijapur forces, and requested Martin to approach Sher Khan with this proposal. Sher Khan told Martin that he could not write to his master unless Shivaji took an oath on a "Shalagrama" in testimony to his sincerity. Whether Monsieur Baron made any further attempt in this direction we do not know. In February 1676 Martin wrote in his *Memoirs* of the confusion at Bijapur caused by the death of Khawas Khan. Shivaji, of course, did not fail to exploit the difference among the Bijapur officers and he took possession of the best places in that kingdom.

It will not be irrelevant to add here a few words about Martin's *Memoirs*. The French East India Company had asked their agents to explore Madagascar, "to keep a strictly accurate

journal of their movements, to note precisely the names of the places they passed through, the condition and the nature of the countries . . . and the manners and customs of their inhabitants." Martin, therefore, wrote a daily journal of everything that deserved notice since his arrival in Madagascar, and these notes were later continued after he came to India. From time to time, when he had leisure, these notes were revised and reduced to their present shape. The revision was probably made by a copyist under Martin's personal supervision and he made numerous corrections and added many notes with his own hands. Thus, his narrative of De la Haye's expedition was revised in 1684-85 and the pages dealing with the events of 1685 were not written until nine years later. This satisfactorily explains Martin's reference to Madanna's death long before it actually took place. Although Martin proposed to give a history of thirty-two years (1664-1696) in his *Memoirs*, it came to an abrupt end in 1694 with his arrival at Chandernagor. Probably his advanced age rendered him incapable of continuing the work of revision. Besides his *Memoirs*, two big fragments of his journal have been preserved, one of these deals with the twelve months extending from February 21, 1701, to February 15, 1702 and the other contains his journal from February 18, 1702 to January 31, 1703.

It is needless to say that Martin furnishes us with the best contemporary account of Shivaji's Karnatak expedition. His *Memoirs* constitute a document of first rate importance and were copied by the late Monsieur P. Margry with a view to publication. Margry's transcription is now in the Bibliotheque Nationale, while the original manuscript of Martin has been preserved in the Archives Nationales of Paris.

Dutch Writers

Of the Dutch writers only two deserve mention here. Gautier Schouten commenced his voyage to the East Indies in 1658. His account of his journey to the east was translated into French and published at Amsterdam in 1707. Like other European sailors and merchants he visited Surat and referred to the first sack of that city by Shivaji (Vol. I, pp. 399-400). He tells us that the evil effects of that pillage could not be repaired very soon. "De Graaf, the surgeon," says Orme, "made six

voyages to the East Indies, in the service of the Dutch company. His first outset from Holland was in the year 1640, his last return in 1687, a period of remarkable length in such wearisome employment. In each voyage he was detained several years abroad, and sent to different parts, where the Dutch had concerns or settlements, and seems to have been at them all. He gives much and various information. The first mention he makes of SEVAGI, is where it might be least expected, when he was travelling in Bengal; when nearer the operations of SEVAGI, he mentions him only once." De Graaf tells us that in 1669 two Portuguese were imprisoned at Monghir on the suspicion of being Shivaji's spies. While at Patna in January 1671, he heard of the second sack of Surat. Apparently the terror of Shivaji's arms had spread as far as Behar and his name was not unknown in the eastern provinces of Aurangzib's empire.

Sack of Surat

From these foreign travellers let us turn to some of the incidents that commanded their attention. Surat was then the western gate of India and the common meeting place of the visitors from across the sea. Bernier, Tavernier, Thévenot, Carré Fryer, L'Escalot, Gary, Ovington, De la Haye, Dellon and Gautier Schouten all visited Surat; and as that wealthy port formed, in the language of John Fryer, the treasury of Shivaji, most of them had something to say about its sack by the Marathas. In 1664 Shivaji suddenly swooped upon the doomed city and burnt and plundered it at his pleasure for four consecutive days. The Governor of the town fled to the castle and the timid population were left to their fate. The daring of the Maratha leader was rewarded with an enormously rich booty and his soldiers scorned to carry away, as we read in the log of the *Loyal Merchant* (Orme MSS. No. 263, Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1661-1664*, pp. 305-306), "anything but gold, silver, pearles and diamants, and such pretious wares." Henry Gary wrote to the Earl of Marlborough that Shivaji "carried a vast treasure away with him. It is credibly reported nemere unto tenn millions of rupees." The process of relieving the opulent merchants and their less well-to-do neighbours of so much money must have involved torture

and death, cruelty and oppression. Shivaji was not there on a mission of mercy, he had gained an immense moral advantage by his nocturnal assault on Shaista Khan's residence and he intended to pursue it with unrelenting resolution. The financial prospects of such an enterprise, no doubt, proved a great inducement, but money was not the only incentive under which Shivaji acted. He wanted to strike terror into the hearts of the enemy subjects and his followers in the heat of the moment and under the impulses of fighting might have exceeded the original intentions of their leader. Gory says that "he made a great destruction of Houses by fire upwards of 3000." (Khan, *Anglo Portuguese Negotiations Relating to Bombay 1660-1677*, pp. 448-449) Slaughter, pillage and arson are but ordinary incidents of warfare.

Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, however, charges Shivaji with such enormities as cannot be condoned under any circumstance. "He ordered the prisoners to be brought before him and cut off the heads of four and the hands of 24 others from among them at his caprice, but spared the rest." A soldier may be excused if he molests an unoffending inhabitant when a city is taken by assault, but a general who mutilates his helpless prisoners can never be forgiven. Shivaji was, by common consent, free from the vices of his times, it is believed he was never guilty of unnecessary cruelty ; but if Sir Jadu Nath's statement is accepted we shall have to revise our opinion about the Maratha hero.

It is an axiom of historical investigation that no authority, however great, is more reliable than his sources. Anything coming from Sir Jadu Nath naturally carries great weight, but his assertion about Shivaji's misdeeds at Surat is no more reliable than the evidence on which he bases it. Bernier, Manucci, Thévenot and Carré do not corroborate the charge which is apparently based on the letters of L'Escalot and Gary, a letter addressed by the English President and Council at Surat to their masters at home and the log of the *Loyal Merchant*. The Dutch factors of Surat, so far as we can judge from the contemporary records now at our disposal, do not corroborate their English neighbours in this particular charge against Shivaji. L'Escalot and Gary were at Surat at the time, and a number of sailors were sent from the *Loyal Merchant* to defend the

English Factory. But a casual scrutiny of these letters reveals that neither the President nor the priest, neither Gary nor the captain of the *Loyal Merchant*, witnessed the incident to which they all testify. None of them can, therefore, be regarded as corroborating others, while they all derived their information from one common source, Mr. Antony Smith, an English Factor, who was a prisoner for three days with the Marathas. Gary writes about the incident thus: "This villaine had the plundering of the place for tlower whole days from Wednesday morning untill Saturday at fower in the afternoone, in which Intrime hee committed many cruelties, by cutting off of mens hands that could not give so much money as hee demaunded, six and twenty did one of our Principall Factores (that was then his prisoner, butt escaped miraculously Mr Anthony Smith) see cutt off in a morning besides many heads." The President and the Council also wrote: (Foster, *The English Factories in India 1661-1664*, p. 30), "The rogue was very cruell. Mr. Smith, in the time of his imprisonment, was present when hee cut off more than 26 hands in one day, and many heads." We read in the log of the *Loyal Merchant*, "The 10 at night, after [hee] had committed many cruelties, haveing destroyed $\frac{2}{3}$ parts of the towne with fier and cutt of severall heads and hands, haveing had Mr. Anthony Smith prisoner, whom after 3 daies hee released for 350 [sic] rupees, haveing certified him that hee would cutt of his head, and hee had surely dyed, if a plott had taken effect, which was the murthering of Sivagee, a Moore stabbing att him, whose hand was cutt off before [hee] could give the blowe." It is evident that the Captain, who was not present at the place of occurrence, heard of the murderous plot as well as the merciless mutilation of Shivaji's prisoners from Mr. Antony Smith. The Rev. John L'Escalot makes no secret about the source of his information. So, in the final analysis the charge brought against Sihvaji by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar rests upon the uncorroborated evidence of one single individual, viz., Anthony Smith. The evidence of a trustworthy person may, under ordinary circumstances, be accepted even without corroboration if there is nothing unusual about it, and mutilation was a common enough punishment in those days. Had the statement, therefore, come from either Sir George Oxenden or the Rev. John L'Escalot, and the accused person happened to be an

officer of Shivaji about whose character nothing was known, it might be accepted as probable though not proven. But Antony Smith happened to be a gentleman of a very shady character and in a letter addressed from Surat to the East India Company on the 31st March, 1665, is found the following estimate of Mr. Smith's character (Foster, *The English Factories in India 1665-1667*, p. 12): "A more atheisticall wretch never was suffer'd to live on the earth. Att the rebell Sevagys being here he fell into his hands, and after his releasment would (as we are credibly inform'd) have betray'd your house, estate and servants up to him; and this is avoweh'd by him that was appointed to write the letter which was intended to be sent the rebell For these and other misdemeaners to tedious to enlarge on here, we warn'd him home to answer to you." Should we be justified in accepting the unsupported evidence of an individual whom his countrymen gave such a bad character?

Shivaji was by no means indiscriminate in his plunder, though the people of Surat were not entitled to his protection. Bernier thus describes the first sack of Surat: "He rushed into the place sword in hand, and remained nearly three days, torturing the population to compel a discovery of their concealed riches. Burning what he could not take away, *Seva-Gi* returned without the least opposition, laden with gold and silver to the amount of several millions; with pearls, silken stuffs, fine cloths, and a variety of other costly merchandise." The French physician adds later, "I forgot to mention that during the pillage of *Sourate*, *Seva-Gy*, the *Holy Seva-Gi*! respected the habitation of the Reverend Father *Ambrose*, the Capuchin missionary. "The Frankish Padrys are good men," he said, 'and shall not be molested.' He spared also the house of a deceased *Delale* or *Gentile* broker, of the *Dutch*, because assured that he had been very charitable while alive. The dwellings of the *English* and *Dutch* likewise escaped his visits, not in consequence of any reverential feeling on his part, but because those people had displayed a great deal of resolution, and defended themselves well. The English especially, assisted by the crews of their vessels, performed wonders, and saved not only their own houses but those of their neighbours. The pertinacity of a Jew, a native of *Constantinople*, astonished every body. *Seva-Gi* knew that he was in possession of most

valuable rubies, which he intended to sell to *Aureng-Zebe* ; but he persevered in stoutly denying the fact, although three times placed on his knees to receive the stroke of a sword flourished over his head. This conduct was worthy of a Jew, whose love of money generally exceeds his love of life." (Bernier, *Travels in the Moghul Empire*, pp. 188-190). Here at least we come across a case of a person known to be wealthy escaping with threats alone. We also learn that the properties of the Capuchin Fathers and of a Hindu broker were respected in consideration of the character of the former and the charities of the latter. Reliable as he usually is, Bernier does not stand alone in his testimony about Shivaji's discrimination in favour of Father Ambrose. Jean de Thévenot and Berthelemy Carré also corroborate him. It can, therefore, be safely maintained that the charge of cold blooded cruelty brought by Sir Jadu Nath on the evidence of Anthony Smith against Shivaji remains in any case unsubstantiated.

For reasons that can be easily surmised Shivaji did not make any serious attempt against the English and the Dutch factories when he sacked Surat for the first time. In 1670, when that city was plundered once again, Shivaji went further and took the English and the Dutch into his confidence. The Dutch harboured his messenger, while the English "sent a present to SEVAGY to the amount of rupes () in Scarlett, sword blades, knives, &ca." (*Diary of William Hedges*, vol. II, p. ccxxviii). It is not, therefore, surprising that "the foreign merchants received no reward from the ruler of the land *this time*." Nor was the suspicion "of the three Christian nations having made a league with Shivaji when he was here (Surat)" (Sarkar, *Shivaji and his Times*, 1st ed., p. 226) entirely based on their immunity from plunder and injury.

Karnatak Expedition

Contemporary European travellers have generally nothing or little to say about Shivaji's Karnatak expedition. Most of them left India too early to have any personal knowledge of those events. Valentine, who wrote long after Shivaji's death, refrained from entering into the details of his later achievements. "This Shivaji," says he, "accomplished great things afterwards in the year 1676 at Golconda, in Surat and elsewhere,

but these we pass over as being not to our purpose here." Niccolao Manucci contented himself with a brief reference to Shivaji's conquests on the Coromandel coast. He wrote: "Shivaji had no idea of allowing his soldiers' swords to rust. He therefore asked the King of Gulkandah to grant him a passage on his way to a campaign in the Karnatik against certain princes who had risen against Bijapur and Gulkandah. The king of Gulkandah having consented to his passing through, he came to Karnatik, and there by his valour and determination, he took a great fortress called Gingi (Jinji). It includes seven fortifications upon hills. There are many princes in the Karnatik, but they would not agree to a joint defence; then he, like a dexterous falcon, pounced upon them, and took many other fortresses of great value, and lands containing many subjects of the Bijapur kingdom. By these victories he increased his strength, and subsequently was able to resist the armies of Aurangzeb." The account given in an unpublished manuscript now in the Archives Marines of Paris, entitled the *Journax des voyages de France á Surrate et de Surrate á la côte de Malabar, á celle de Coromandel, Malaca, Syam, etc. par le navire le Vautour de la compagnie des Indes en 1676 jusqu'en 1680* (A.M.B.⁴ 7.), is equally meagre. It says that Shivaji entered into the Karnatak with a big army, resolved to take possession of that province, and defeated some princes who wanted to oppose his advance. At the report of his arrival Sher Khan Lodi requested M. Martin to assist him and to throw himself into some one of his fortresses where Sher Khan also might retire with his family and riches. M. Martin, however, informed Sher Khan that he could not engage himself in an enterprise from which he could not expect to come out with honour, as he had not sufficient means to stand a siege and could not expect any reinforcement on account of a war with the Dutch. Shivaji, in the meantime, entered into the province, defeated the army of Sher Khan Lodi, took him prisoner and took possession of all the places under his jurisdiction. Sometime before the defeat of Sher Khan Lodi, M. Martin had sent an envoy to Shivaji demanding from him the same privileges for the Company that Sher Khan had granted, to which he very willingly acquiesced on condition that M. Martin should remain neutral. Since then the whole of this country with Pondichery

have been under him. For the best account of the Karnatak expedition we are indebted to the *Memoirs* of François Martin and the letters that the Jesuit missionaries of Madura addressed from time to time to their friends and colleagues in Europe.

The Maratha chroniclers suggest that the real originator of this expedition was Raghunath Narayan Hanmante, whom Shivaji afterwards left as his Viceroy at Jinji. In any case the scheme was being publicly discussed as early as December, 1675. In a letter from Surat dated the 20th December, 1675, (Archives Coloniales Inde C²—62, fol. 316-317) Baron tells De la Haye that he met Annaji Pant, one of the principal ministers of Shivaji, near Rajapur, and while discussing the conquest of the Karnatak (Carnatte), Annaji frankly admitted to Baron that if the Moghul continued his war on the side of Lahore and if the Pathans kept him engaged, Shivaji would carry his arms to that coast; and to minimise the difficulties of this enterprise he had already sent an embassy to the court of Golkonda to explain his plans to the King and to obtain some money from him. Baron suggests that in view of the discord prevailing among of the numerous princes of India, the King of France might easily play a dominant part in this country, if he could secure but two good places, one on the Malabar coast and another on the Coromandel, and send two to three ships only with some men and money every year.

The expedition was launched at a very opportune moment. Bijapur lay paralysed by internal dissension. Golkonda was at war with the French. The petty princes of the Karnatak were, as ever, in strife. Even the European merchant powers knew no peace, and the Dutch and the French were trying their utmost to compass the ruin of each other. As for Bahadur Khan, that "fattened calf," Shivaji knew how to fill his maw with gold and to compensate with bribe any loss of honour and prestige.

The ultimate object of Shivaji's Karnatak expedition has been, for sometime past, a subject of conjecture and controversy. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar maintains that Shivaji was drawn to the Coromandel coast by prospects of plunder alone. "It is incredible," writes he, "that a born strategist like Shivaji could have really intended to annex permanently a territory on the Madras coast, which was separated from his own dominions

by two powerful and potentially hostile states like Bijapur and Golkonda, and more than 700 miles distant from his capital. His aim, I believe, was merely to squeeze the country of its accumulated wealth and return home with the booty. The partition of his father's heritage was only a plea adopted to give a show of legality to this campaign." Ranade, on the other hand, maintained that "As if he had prescience of coming events, Shivaji, by his conquests and alliances, formed a new line of defence in Southern India in the Kávéri valley, to which he could retire in case of necessity."

That Shivaji did annex the newly conquered territories in the Karnatak is an undisputed fact. The Marathas retained these new kingdoms till the days of Rajaram, and how complete their sovereignty was, may be easily inferred from some published and unpublished French documents. In 1688 the French had to seek a *Parwana* from Timaji Keshava, Subedar of Jinji, in order to build a fortress at Pondichery (*Lettres et conventions des Gouverneurs de Pondichery avec différentes princes hindous 1666 à 1793*. Pondichery, Société de l'histoire de l'Inde Française, 1911-1914, pp. 3-4), and again in June 1690 they approached Rajaram with a prayer to protect them against the designs of the Dutch, the English and the Danes. (*Ibid*, p. 5). A letter of the same date and published in the same volume shows that Rajaram mortgaged the custom duties of Pondichery to the French East India Company as security for a loan of 6000 Chakras (pp. 6-7). These documents leave no doubt that the Marathas did enjoy and exercise their rights of sovereignty over Pondichery till June 1690. That their possession of these territories remained uninterrupted from the date of their first annexation can also be conclusively proved by a document entitled, *Le Stat General des Presentes et depences faites a Pondichery depuis le 18 8bre 1673 jusquez au 31e aoust 1693 tant pour obtenir leur firmanz ou la permission de s'establir au lieu Pondichery, scitué dans le Royaume de Visiapour coste de Coromandel y batir du fort, endes Magasines, que pour se maintenir dans la possessions de cet etablissement, le tous extrait des journaux et des grandes livres cottes y apres*, now in the Archives Coloniales of Paris. It gives a list of successive Maratha Subedars of Jinji and Havaldars of Pondichery whose friendship and patronage the French merchants tried to secure

by means of presents. It may, however, be argued that permanent annexation of the conquered territories was decided later on, when Shivaji on his way back reduced a number of important fortresses and strategical posts that served as a connecting link between Rairi and Jinji. This suggestion, however, is negated by the recorded testimony of Martin.

Shivaji opened his campaign in the Karnatak in May 1677. In the very next month Monsieur Martin sent a Brahman envoy to him. This envoy had no less than three interviews with the Maratha King. "At the third," Martin tells us, "Sivagy assured our envoy that we might stay in complete security at Pondichery without taking the side of either party; that if we offered the least insult to his people there would be no quarter for us or for those of our people who were in the factory of Rajapour, that he would send an *avaladar* in a few days to govern Pondichery and that we might have to live with him in the same manner as we had done with the officers of Chircam." The appointment of a Havaladar to govern Pondichery coupled with Shivaji's refusal to share his recent conquests with his quondam ally, the King of Golkonda, leaves no doubt as to his real intention. Martin further tells us that a large number of Brahmans had accompanied Shivaji in search of employment. This also proves that Shivaji had decided on the annexation of a good part of the Karnatak before he had set out on his expedition.

Martin bitterly complains against the tyranny of Shivaji's Brahman officers. Closely allied as the French had recently been with Sher Khan Lodi, it was but natural that they should be treated with suspicion and coldness by the Marathas. The war had not yet been concluded, the country had not yet been settled and peace and order had not yet been restored. Good government could not be expected under the circumstances and every officer, civil and military, was perhaps anxious to fish in the troubled water. It is no little credit to ~~them~~ that even when engaged in fighting and plunder, Shivaji's men succeeded in reclaiming the long neglected waste lands of the area under occupation and rendering the most niggardly barren lands fruitful and profitable.

It may not be irrelevant to point out in this connection that Sher Khan did not find an asylum with the Nayak of Madura after leaving the woods of Ariyalur, as Sir Jadu Nath

Sarkar seems to suggest. Disappointed at Trichinopoly, he had to retrace his steps to the woods he had so recently left, where he was treated with kindness and generosity by the friendly Nayak. He later joined the chief of the Maravas, as we read in the pages of Martin.

Shivaji and the European Nations

If Abbé Carré is to be believed, Shivaji was anxious to cultivate the friendship of the merchant nations of Europe. He relied on them for a steady supply of artillery and firearms. Before he sacked Surat for the second time he gave his French friends a timely warning and Monsieur Blot wrote (to Colbert ?) on the 25th March, 1672 "Prince Sivagy, the terror of all people, has given such a testimony of his very great friendship for the French nation that we are certain that if he comes back as last year to sack this town he will respect all who may be under our banner." (A.C.C.² 62, fol. 166). The French of Rajapur obliged him by a timely supply of artillery, and during his Karnatak expedition Shivaji refrained from molesting the French, though they had entered into a close alliance with Sher Khan Lodi shortly before.

His attitude towards the Dutch was one of amicable neutrality. When Surat was sacked for the first time Shivaji sent a Greek named Nicholas Colostra to the Dutch factory with a friendly message. During the second sack he actually took them into his confidence and consulted them as to the best methods of mulcting the most opulent merchants of the place. But he firmly refused a proposed alliance against the English, though the Dutch undertook to co-operate with him in an expedition against the much coveted naval stronghold of Danda-Rajpuri.

Elsewhere I have given a detailed account of Shivaji's political dealings with the Portuguese. (*Studies in Indian History*). Suffice it to say that during the last years of Shivaji the Portuguese made a studied effort to avoid any cause of misunderstanding and they granted no facility to the Siddi's fleet as might cause suspicion or give offence. In a Bombay letter dated the 2nd February 1679-80 we read, "the Portuguese will not afford them (Siddi's fleet) anything, onely now and then a little water and that not often. He robbed lately a small towne of the Rajahs neare Chaule, upon which the Portuguese seized

one of his groabs and 2 galvetts, took his men out of them and put them in prison, keeping all till the Syddy had brought back from Danda Rajapore what men etc. he had carried out of the said towne."

The English had factories at Rajapur, Hubli and Karwar. They later acquired Bombay and thus became close neighbours of Shivaji and his naval rival the Siddi of Janjira. The first conflict between them and the Maratha Prince was not due to any aggression on his part. Henry Revington of the Rajapur factory had helped Shivaji's enemies by actively participating in the siege of Panhala and Shivaji retaliated by plundering the English factory. Revington and his colleagues were carried away prisoners and were not released until two years later. The English demanded compensation for what loss the Company and its employees had suffered on that occasion. Shivaji did not deny his liability, but he wanted the English to settle once again at Rajapur. Into the details of the long protracted negotiation it is needless to enter. Ustick, Nicholls, and Oxinden were sent in succession to bring about an honourable settlement, and the story of these embassies may be easily reconstructed from the papers published in the following pages. Shivaji wanted to buy guns and munition from the English. The English, on the other hand, were unwilling to give the Moghul any offence. At the same time they could not reject the proffered friendship of Shivaji as Bombay depended entirely on his country for provision and fuel. The situation was further complicated by the Siddi's converting the island of Bombay into his naval base. This was the real cause of the ultimate failure of the negotiation, though a treaty was formally concluded in 1674. Ultimately Shivaji decided to cut the gordian knot by taking possession of the small island of Kenery (1679), which commanded the harbour of Bombay. This led to an armed conflict between the English and the Marathas, but the English could not put their confidence in the good faith of the Siddi and their financial resources were extremely limited. They came to terms with Shivaji and a fresh treaty was concluded. Details about this treaty will be found in the papers quoted below:

(FACTORY RECORDS SURAT VOL: 108)

Fols. 44-45. Annajee Punditt his reply to the Deputy Governor & Coun-

cills proposalls with promise by letter to see all confirmed under the Rajah's seale.

1st. That what is due by Shivajee to the honourable Company &c. alsoe what is due by our inhabitants to the merchants of your country wee shall immediately order to be paid.

2nd. You write that your men without my licence did fight with yours in which engagement your Englishmen and others as likewise vessels with its appartinencys came into our custody all which you demand from us, to which I answer that you ought to keepe ffrinendship with Shivajee Rajah and that hereafter, there be noe difference between us, and as to your men and vessels and all elce that is in our custody I have given order to be delivered to you.

3rdly. You write that the ffactory that are in our countrys shall continue in trading during your pleasure and that when you please to send for the Englishmen that are there, you will keepe servants natives of the country to looke after and take charge of your house and goods as shall be left by any of your factoars in any ffactorys in our dominions, and that when the ffactoars shall returne, they shall freely continue in tradeing without any hindrance to them or their servants, to which I answere that they may freely goe and come and stay.

4thly. You write that all vessels that shall be bound from Bombay to any other port or others that are bound from other ports to the port of Bombay, shall have noe hindrance from us and that in case of any stormes whereby any vessell my breake her mast or helme, that wee shall not take the said vcssell, nor goods therein, to which I answer that they may freely goe and come without any hindrance or prejudice from us in the least, and as allways they did freely pass so they shall have free passage for future.

5. You write that according to the treaty formerly made between us upon oath, wee should observe the same for the future, to which I answere that according as it was allways observed in the same manner wee will observe the same for the future and that wee shall not be wanting in performing the same on our side, nor you ought to faile in doing the same.

6. That according to the above written articles you may be sure that wee will observe the same for the future, therefore you may withdraw your ffeete from Cundry.

Siddy Cossum by your forces came to Undry and have landed on the same, to whome you may speake in a fair manner, and comand him to leave the said Undry and as the ffactours in our countrys, wee shall give intire compliance to all the above written, but you ought not to give any aid or assistance to our enemys, but otherwise to continue in our ffrinendship, and if on your side you breake the same, dont you lay the fault upon me afterwards.

Fols. 45-46. Soobedarr of Chauls reply to the Worshipfull. John Child Deputy Governor of Bombay and Councils proposalls with promise to see them confirmed by Sevajee Rajah his master.

1st. You write that wee must pay the money belonging to the

Honourable Company and to other merchants by our inhabitants, to which I answer that I consent to the same and that wee will order the money belonging to the honourable Company be immediately paid.

2ndly. You write that all vessels that shall be bound from Bombay to any other port or others that are bound from other ports to the port of Bombay shall have noe hindrance from us and that in case of any stormes whereby vessell may break her mast, or helme, that wee shall not take the said vessell nor goods therein, but otherwise wee shall send the said vessell and goods unto the port of Bombay, to which I answer, tis very well and I accept the same.

3rdly. You write that the ffactours that are in our dominions shall freely continue in trading during your pleasure and that when you please for to send for the Englishmen that are there you will keepe severall natives of the country to looke after and take charge of your house and goods as shall be left by any of your ffactours in any of the ffactorys in our country and that when ffactours shall returne they shall freely continue in trading without any hindrance to them or their servants (and) all which I accept of.

4thly. You write that there was a fight between your and our men and that they had noe order for the same, therefore you demand your Englishmen and others as alsoe the gunns vessells and all elce that was taken, to which I answer that it is very well and that with Shivajees answer I will returne the same againe which I promise to performe.

5thly. You write that according to the treaty formerly made between us, wee should observe the same for the future without any differences in the least upon the oath of Mahadev and that a new writing be signed and sealed by Shivajee for himselfe and his successours to performe the same, to which I answer that tis very well, and that I accept of the same. According to the above written five articles I doe accept and will have them confirmed by Shivajee Rajah upon oath.

Fols. 46-47. Annagee Punditt and the Soobedarr of Chauls proposalls to the Worshipfull John Child Deputy Governor of Bombay and Council to the behalle of their master Sevajee Rajah.

1st. The Syddys flete which came with your assistance, you must command them to withdraw together with your flete.

2. In case that you cannot make them withdraw they pretending to be servants to the king of Mogull, then you may doe nothing, which is, not give them any succour, nor allow them any ammunition, nor boates, and that wee may have notice thereof, while your flete doth nor withdraw from Cundry, wee will keepe in Bombay one spy and ten men to know whither or noe you give them any succour.

3. All persons whatsoever that shall absent themselves from our country to your dominions for debts you shall deliver them to us, but if you say that its not custome to deliver them. then all debts due by them or other things laid to their charge shall be taken notice of by your minister of justice.

4. None of our enemys should be suffered to enter into the rivers of Negotan or Penn it being soe agreed between us in the first treaty,

but now through the difference between us the Siddy came thro and tooke severall prisoners, which you must see them delivered and that for the future, by noe means you must suffer them to enter in the rivers, which you must performe.

5. That the inhabitants of Shivajees country shall freely come and goe to your dominions to trade any buy merchandize, to whome you shall see them not be abused.

6. Dauda Can who assisted in Bombay in the Syddys service, did come into our country and doe us very much damage, therefore you must turne him off the island.

According to the above menconed articles you may send them made. Fol. 47. The Worshipfull John Child Deputy Governor and his Councils reply to Annagee Punditts and the Soobedarr of Chauls proposalls sent them sealed the 18th January, 1679/80.

1st. You write that in case wee could not make the Syddys fleete withdraw they pretending to be servants of the King of Mogull, wee should not give them any succour, nor allow them any ammunition, nor boates, and that while the Syddys fleete doth not withdraw you would keepe a spy and tenn men on Bombay to give you notice thereof, to which I answer, that as the ammunition viz. gunns powder and ball, they shall not have any of us, but water and provisions if they will have it I shall not hinder them, for soe as there is noe hindrance for you soe there shall be none for him, and as wee have ffriendship with you and have our ffactorys in your country soe wee have the same ffriendship with the king of Mogull, and have our ffactorys in his dominions, for which reason here will be no hindrance for water and provisions and as for the rest that you desire as aforesaid I accept of.

2nd. You write that if any inhabitants of your country should absent themselves to our island that it is not our custome to deliver them and that wee should take notice of their debts, or anything elce laid to their charge, to which I answer, that when any of your inhabitants shall absent themselves to this island, you must acquaint me of them, and then wee shall take notice of them in our court of justice and according as their cases will require, justice shall be done to them, but if any one be soe poor, that he be not able to pay, he shall be in prison until he gave satisfaction.

3rd. You write that noe enemy shall enter into the rivers of Negotan and Penn and that it is soe agreed between us in the first treaty made and that now through the difference between us wee should not suffer the Syddy to enter these, to which I answer that it is very well and that wee will not be wanting in doeing our endeavours to hinder the same, in what possible wee can.

4th. You write that the inhabitants of Shivajees country that shall come to our island to trade that I shall not suffer them to be abused, to which I answer, that tis very well and I accept the same.

5th. You write that Dauda Can did assist on the island in the Syddys service and that he had done a great deale of injury in your countrys, therefore you would have me turne him off the island, to which

I answer, any one that assists in this roade and shall presume to doe any injury, he, or they soe offending shall be severely punished, and turned out.

According to these articles I send them to you. The articles on the Rajahs part were signed and sealed by Anngee Punditt and the Soobedarr of Chaul.

Fol. 48. Proposals made by the Worshipfull John Child Deputy Governor of the island of Bombay and his Councill, unto Sevajee Rajahs ministers to be confirmed by the said Rajah for the concluding a peace between the English nation and him.

1st. Wee demand the money belonging to the honourable Company in your country as alsoe to other our inhabitants which money you are to satisfy immediately.

2nd. Without any consideration your people did quarrell and tooke from us one new Groab one Sybarr, the Groabs boate, with the English men, and other that went therein, as alsoe the armes and other things viz. gunns, balls, powder, musketts, pistolls, anchors, sailes, swords and all elce which you have taken, all which you are to returne us againe.

3rd. That all vessells that come from any place to this port of Bombay or from hence shall goe to any other port, if they give notice that they belong to Bombay you shall not stop nor hinder them, and in case of any storme whereby any vessell (that goes from Bombay or comes hither) shall breake any mast or helme, you shall not take the said vessell nor goods but otherwise you shall send the said vessell and goods into this our port.

4th. Without our knowledge you landed your men on the hill in our port and brought thither your ffleete which when wee heard (not knowing where your ffleete was bound for) wee therefore sent out our ffleete to know your designe, whereupon your men without taking any notice thereof did unreasonably fight, wherefore wee were forced to keepe our great ffleete there to this day and the charges that wee have been at in the said ffleete you are to pay us.

5th. The ffactors that wee have in your countrys shall remaine there in tradeing during our pleasures, and noe restraint laid on them whatsoever, but shall be free to come, stay and goe without any hinderance being given them, and if it shall be thought fitt at any time to call for our Englishmen away from any place or places in the Rajahs dominions as our conveniency or occasions may require, they may not be hindered in goeing off the shoare and be free to make choice of one two or more of the country or other servants to take charge of the ffactory house and what may be left in it and the said servant or servants soe left shall freely enjoy the possession of the house or houses &c., without any disturbance and nothing meddled with that may be left in house or houses, and when any factor or ffactors shall be returned to the said place or places they shall freely trade, without any hinderance whatsoever, and none of their servants of what naturesoever be in the least manner imposed upon.

6th. As formerly there was a treaty made in writing between us and you, soe likewise it shall now be observed and shall not differ in the least if you sweare upon Mahadev, therefore accordingly you are to make a new writing sealed and signed by Shivajee Rajah, for himselfe and his successours will observe the same.

This treaty was confirmed by Shivaji, as we learn from a Bombay letter dated 18th March, 1679/80 (Factory Records, Surat, Vol. 108, fol. 62), and the English received from Shivaji's ministers 1000 khandis of white betelnut. But as before, the English were unable to prevent the Siddi's depredations. He refused to refrain from raiding Shivaji's country and went so far as to fire upon and capture a Manchua flying English colours. Nor did the Siddi consent to respect the neutrality of Bombay and though the English prisoners were returned to Bombay, the treaty remained, for all practical purposes, inoperative when Shivaji died in April 1680, "of a bloody flux, being sick 12 days."

**LIFE OF THE
CELEBRATED SEVAGY
By
Cosme da Guarda**

CHAPTER I

HIS BIRTH AND EARLY CAREER

The village of Virar¹ near the city of Baçaym in the territories of the Portuguese Crown was the birthplace of Sevagy. The lord of this village was Dom Manoel de Menezes, and people were not wanting who said that Sevagy was his son. May truth prevail. But at all events he has been known as the youngest of twelve² sons [2] of Sagy, a Captain of Idalcao, who died old governing the principalities of Madure, Tangan and Tinga.³ He was called Sevagy in honour of an idol, called Seva, much venerated by the gentiles, to which is joined the word "gy" (which is the same as Senhor), Sevagy means Senhor Seva. He belonged to the Maraste nation, as do all Hindus who inhabit the region between the city of Goa and Surrate.

It is the custom among these captains (and Europe will lose nothing in following it) to take their sons with them in war and other enterprises, and Sevagy had not completed twelve when his father gave him the command of thirty horses, among the many that these captains have in their charge. But as Sevagy was so young, he gave him as his tutor an old soldier and near relative, called Neotagy,⁴ who always accompanied him and

¹ Shivaji was born at Shivner near Junnar. Thevenot also commits the same error when he says "this Sivaji was the son of a captain of the king of Bijapur, and was born at Bassein."

² Shahaji had no more than three legitimate sons ; of his illegitimate sons five are known to history, viz., Makaji Ananda Rao, Hiroji Farzand, Shantaji, Bhimji and Pratapji. Dr. J. J. Fragoso suggests that we should read *dots* (two) instead of *doze* (twelve) but without any reason. See P. Pissurlencar, *Xivaji Maharaja Com Sangue Portugues?* p. 9.

³ Madura, Tanjore and Jinji. It should be noted that Madura was ruled by a dynasty of Nayaks, Jinji was not within Shahaji's jurisdiction and Tanjore was conquered by Shahaji's younger son Ekoji or Vyankoji. According to Sabhasad, Shahaji had his headquarters at Bangalore. (Sen, *Stoa Chhatrapati*, p. 90.) He subsequently transferred it to Kolhar. (Sardesai, *Marathi Riyasat*, Vol. I, p. 158.)

⁴ The author probably means Netaji Palkar but Netaji was not Shivaji's uncle or guardian.

never left him on account of the affection he felt for Sevagy and also because he knew that he was not only quick in action but lively in carriage also, for with a clear and fair face nature had given him the greatest perfections, [3] specially the dark big eyes were so lively that they seemed to dart rays of fire. To these was added a quick, clear and acute intelligence. Sevagy was fifteen years of age when his natural cheerfulness was suddenly converted into perpetual sadness. He longed to be alone and was always so pensive that it attracted general notice. His tutor Neotagy, in special, felt much concerned and asked him several times whether he needed anything, and, as he loved him so much, (urged that) he should tell him what troubled him and what he desired generally. His reply was that what he had in his mind caused him great distress. Neotagy said laughingly, "Really, my child, it is well that you think about the enterprises you want to undertake and the reputation you may acquire thereby." And as he spoke in this fashion several times, Sevagy replied, "You are not a prophet, uncle, but seem to be one in what you observe, for you know that my diligence is yet too small for my purpose." If Neotagy smiled, then Sevagy (would continue)—"Laugh, uncle [4] but before long you will perceive my reasons and your errors". The old man saw that the boy spoke like a man and seriously entreated him to confide his project to him for he would always find in him a friend and companion. Sevagy then mounted his horse and with him rode Neotagy and the thirty horsemen under his command. Leaving the army they posted themselves in a place where they would not be heard and Sevagy asked them all in a loud voice whether they would follow him to better their fortunes. Some replied in the affirmative and he (assured them): "Then I promise you that your names will be celebrated, and in all these regions our deeds will be admired." "But what shall we do?" asked Neotagy. "Humiliate the proud and make ourselves great," said Sevagy. Neotagy then promised that he would never fail him with his person and counsel and the thirty soldiers gave him such enthusiastic assurances as if he had already achieved the most notable victory. This done, they returned to the army and awaited the opportunity that luck might present them [5]. This opportunity was soon found in the death of the King and the disunion that followed in the court of Vizapur caused by the

election that the Queen made of the son, so it is said, of an elephant-driver.⁵ The Moors are proud and haughty and much haughtiness was not needed to disobey a King of such humble origin. The nobles in particular felt so highly scandalised that they all left the court and retired to their lands and estates without the Queen's permission. And as it is a grave offence and sedition to go away without paying due respects to the King or one who rules, the court became devoid of courtiers⁶ and remained in a great confusion. Sevagy took this general disorder as an omen for his own enterprise and, so resolved, he left the army with his uncle and companions without taking his father's leave or telling him anything. [6] Travelling away from the public road, they reached at daybreak a Hindu settlement many leagues off. In this settlement he furnished himself with necessaries for a few days and here, as well as in other villages, he persuaded all the able (-bodied) men he found to enlist with him, and he induced them with such skill that by the time he reached the territories of Vizapur, he had with him five hundred horse. His credit had already much increased, for all thought that he was a great minister of the King or a notable personage in the kingdom. He arrived in the Province of Canolur, which was governed by a Mulatto⁷ with the title of

⁵ There was a strong suspicion about the legitimacy of this prince. Fryer writes, during the next reign—"it being bruited that *Alah Adul Shaw* was begotten by an Elephant-Keeper, when the King's choicest Elephants were forced to be stabled near the Womens Quarters to hide them from the *Mogul's* Ambassador." (*A New Account of East-India and Persia*, p. 169.) Antonio de Mello de Castro, Governor of Portuguese India, wrote on the 3rd March 1665—"Aly Idalxa, King of Idalcão, is not the legitimate heir of the kingdom but the Queen, having brought him up from his childhood, had him acknowledged as king, alleging that he was born of a lady of the palace by her husband." (Stray papers in the *Archivo Ultramarino* of Lisbon.) Thevenot also asserts that Ali Adil Shah was not the son of his reputed father although he does not question his legitimacy. "The king (who Reigns at Viziapour at present) was an Orphan, whom the late King and Queen adopted for their son, and after the death of the King, the Queen had so much interest as to settle him upon the throne; but he being as yet very young, the Queen was declared Regent of the kingdom: Nevertheless, there has been a great deal of weakness during her Government, and *Raja Sivagy* hath made the best of it for his own elevation." (*Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot*, p: 92.)

⁶ *Cavalheiros*—literally, knights, gentlemen.

⁷ Guarda probably means an Abyssinian.

Sidizer⁸ of Canolur. He was a captain of Vizapur and was very powerful. He was so offended with the royal election that when summoned by the King and the Queen, he not only disobeyed but sent a reply that King, indeed, he was in his lands where one who knew better to direct the goad of the elephant than the scepter, never had any place. When Sidizer learnt of Sevagy's arrival, whose father was his friend, and understood his purpose, he communicated with him (Shivaji) by letters and presents, but they did not join each other. They made, however, an alliance between them and promised never to fail each other. This pact concluded, Sevagy immediately entered the territories of Vizapur, plundering large and small places [7] above the Gate⁹ which is a hilly place of the world that crosses the whole of the country, properly called India.^{9a} Gate (all the Oriental languages agree in its meaning) is an eminence so to say, and it is really so high that there are places whence it would take ten hours to descend to the plain. Robbing many on the Gate, Sevagy descended below in Concao in its northern part (the plain that reaches the foot of the Gate is called Concao). Here he captured a fortress called Dabul,¹⁰ took possession of all the lands under its jurisdiction and killed all the Mouros he found, appointing Hindu Abaldares¹¹ (they are Governors), all Marastes by nation as he was, and all submitted with ease and pleasure.

At this time the new King Idalcao thought of leaving the

⁸ Siddi Johar of Karnul. He was a rebel officer but afterwards "offered to make his submission if his position were recognised." (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, first edition, p. 87.)

⁹ Gate—i.e., Ghat, literally, a pass, but this was the name given to the mountain ranges of Western India by foreigners.

^{9a} It should be noted that the Portuguese used this name in a very restricted sense and generally applied it to the western coast of India with which they first became acquainted.

¹⁰ Dabhol in the District of Ratnagiri. Thevenot also speaks of this town: "*Dabul* is an ancient Town, in the Latitude of seventeen degrees and a half; it has its Water from a Hill hard by, and the Houses of it are low, it being but weakly fortified; I am told *Stvagy* hath seized it, notwithstanding its Castle, as also *Rajapour*, *Vingourla*, *Rastgar* and some other places upon that coast of Deccan." (*Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Indies*, p. 83.)

¹¹ Havaldars.

court of Vizapur to reduce Sidizer of Canolur to obedience and, as he was the most powerful of all, it caused him (the King) great anxiety and fear. The King arrived and laid siege to his place [8] which the Sidi defended well at the beginning. The King, however, received fresh reinforcement every hour and the Sidi found himself hard pressed. Sevagy, (when) informed of this, did not like to succour him, as this could not be done without risking a battle with the King who had great power. Sevagy had then no more than seven hundred horse and two thousand peons,¹² as it was too early to expose them to any danger, which, bad at all events would be very harmful at the commencement of a project. But he descended the Gate again and went to the metropolis of Vizapur which he besieged. He found it in such a state that he could capture it, but he did not do so because he was not yet very strong and did not like to risk its loss. He contented himself with plundering and he set fire to Abdulapur, Nacerapur, and Corapur,¹³ three great settlements about a quarter of league from the capital, and to other places in the neighbourhood, leaving all in those and other places greatly dismayed and frightened, while the name of Sevagy became formidable. It was the best way he could safely help [9] his friend and it was so important that at the first notice the King raised the siege, for he was afraid of losing his capital which would be difficult to recover. Sevagy in his turn, when he learnt of the King's movement,¹⁴ retired to the territories of Rustamusaman,¹⁵ another powerful Mulatto and a confederate of his. Thence he again descended the Gate and on his way sacked an important place called Chandagora. Here

¹² Armed footmen.

¹³ Abdulapur is probably Afzalpur "called after Afzal Khan, whose summer palace was in this quarter." Nacerapur must be Nauruspur which "Ibrahim II wished to turn into a new capital." (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. 23, pp. 578-579.)

¹⁴ *Sabendo* alone occurs in the original.

¹⁵ Rustam-i-Zaman was universally suspected of having a secret understanding with Shivaji. In a Rajapur letter, dated 10th October 1659, the English wrote of Rustam-i-Zaman "who is a friend of Shivaji." (Sarkar, *Shivaji and his Times*, First ed. p. 294.) In another letter (10th December, 1659) we read that Rustam-i-Zaman had advised the English of Rajapur to spare some grenades for Shivaji. (*The English Factories in India, 1655-60*, by William Foster, p. 250.)

he obtained great wealth, for in this place dwelt many Baneanes who had fled from Goa with large sums belonging to the Portuguese (just punishment for their sin as they entrusted their money only to idolaters). Sevagy had as yet no residence nor did he build it anywhere. When he was supposed to be here he was there, and when suspected to be elsewhere he would enter through the gates. He always took with him as many horses as he found in order to augment his troops, for the people who were attracted by the good pay he used to give were many. Sevagy spent much time ascending and descending the hills of Gate, and always sacked innumerable places [10]. He made the fortress of Dabul his arsenal¹⁶ and in the course of a year made himself master of the whole area in this maritime coast from Curale¹⁷ (three leagues from Bengorla¹⁸) to the estuary, which is thirty-six leagues away. He soon reduced some other fortresses that still belonged to Idalcao till he reached the one called Danda where was a Sidy (the same as Abyssinian). This is not the Danda near Chaul. For never by assault could be captured this fortress built on a steep and large rock with a large and deep ditch opened in the rock itself where Sevagy could not put his cavalry (much as he tried). Sevagy often sent expeditions to different places at the same time and in all of them he was convoked and he was in command. The question is still unsolved whether he substituted others for himself or (whether) he was a magician or the devil acted in his place.¹⁹ Much has been said about it in India and there is much divergence of opinion as usual. If I had to give my opinion I would say that as he sent expeditions to two, three and four [11] places at the same time and as with every regiment went a Captain whom all obeyed and called Sevagy Raja (name that he had assumed after his rebellion), this mistake was caused by some people who came everyday (i.e., fresh recruits) and did not know him well as yet. Hence arose the belief that he used to be in different places (at the same time). It was confirmed when

¹⁶ *Praça de armas.*

¹⁷ Kudal, on the Karli, thirteen miles north of Savantvadi.

¹⁸ Vengurla.

¹⁹ Oxinden made the following observations on the same subject in a letter dated the 26th June, 1664. "Sevagy is soe famously infamous for his notorious thefts that report hath made him an airy body and added

people robbed at different places met and all affirmed that Sevagy in person sacked these places on such a day or such a night at such an hour. And as among Indians much less suffices to confirm much more, there grew the firm belief that Sevagy was everywhere.

wings ; or else it were impossible hee could bee at soe many places as hee is said to bee at, all at one time. Sometimes hee is certainly believed to bee in one, and in a day or two in another place, and soe in halfe a dozen remote one from another ; and there burns and plunders, all without controule." (*The English Factories in India, 1660-1664*, p. 345.)

CHAPTER II

THE KING IDALCAO SENDS AN ARMY AGAINST SEVAGY, THE COMMANDER OF WHICH BELULGHAN WAS VANQUISHED, CAPTURED AND KILLED BY SEVAGY

The King Idalcao felt vexed that a boy, the son of one of his vassals, should sack his capital and make himself master of the whole [12] of the territories of Concao. He suspected that the grandees of the Kingdom helped Sevagy out of spite for him (the King) and wished to undeceive them by destroying Sevagy. For this purpose he selected Belulghan,¹ an old Captain of the deceased King, of known valour and experience and gave him thirty-five thousand horse with orders to finish with Sevagy at all costs. The General departed and reached the highest part of the Gate and halted with the army. From there he sent several spies to know where Sevagy mostly resided, and, while awaiting this information, he ordered the destruction of several temples of idols to spite his adversary for being a Gentio. As no one knew, for certain, anything about Sevagy's residence, the information was confused and contradictory. As the General could not come to any decision without definite information, he did not like to move from that place until this was verified. But Sevagy, wanting to relieve him of so much work, visited him many days in his encampment in the following manner. He stripped himself totally and fastened a (piece of) cloth not very clean (this is to cover what must not be shown, as they say in India), and putting [13] on his head bundles of grass, carried them to the General's stable. In this manner he examined the entries and exits of the camp particularly the quarters of the General. Disguised in this fashion, he himself spoke to all and questioned all without being ever recognized by anyone. On other occasions he sent his uncle Neotagy to the same army and both of them talked of the injuries that all received from Sevagy.

¹ Gaurda probably means Afzal Khan but his information was confused and inaccurate.

Sometimes both of them would go through the army, and not satisfied with what information the grass (business) afforded, they would find excuse for delaying there to stay longer and to observe more. They would manage to lose their bundles there and would be thus detained by this occasion till they had seen and verified all that was necessary. Sevagy soon sent his uncle Neotagy to get one thousand horse and lead them to an appointed place by secret roads in the wood, while he contrived things in such a way as would facilitate the ascent of the Gate. The Mouro General had secured all [14] the roads of the Gate by posting peons in order to get immediate information of all occurrences, and as he felt secure, he was more at ease than was proper. Sevagy sent a party of his peons, who were, like those in a draught board, his chosen men and so prompt and intelligent that they left nothing to be described. But any prince, who may imitate Sevagy, can in the same manner organise a good army as Sevagy had done. For, if any of these soldiers failed to execute his orders, he would not appear before him, but the more valorous and intelligent would at once avail themselves of the opportunity and immediately get their reward. So he was not only obeyed but loved. Sevagy then ordered a regiment of these soldiers, divided into many parties, so that they might not be recognized, to climb the roads of the Gate until they reached the sentinels of the army. These, as if tired of climbing the height, sat down when they were questioned by the *Lascars*² and replied that they came to enlist themselves³ to fight (against) [15] the robber Sevagy, against whom they feigned to desire vengeance for being robbed, and they pretended that they came from a place recently sacked by Sevagy, who had killed all those he could lay hands on, and only they and a few more who were coming behind escaped. They immediately lay down to sleep and thus completely deceived the sentinels. Then arrived others who said and did the same thing. There were in all thirty-seven sentinels of the Mouros and they were sufficient for that road. Then the (new-comers) awoke and asked the sentinels to whom they would have to

² *Laskar* means an army, *Lascarim* in Portuguese as in French stands for infantry.

³ *Tomar paga*.

speak for enlistment, and as they were replying the thirty-seven sentinels were surrounded and killed, and (Sevagy's men) thus became the masters of the situation, for there was no other way to ascend in that part. Information was immediately sent to Sevagy, who at once ascended with one thousand cavalry and many infantry and disposed of them in such a manner that his men entered the camp in the second watch of the night. Sevagy divided his men into four parties and ordered that each band should take a different course.

The Moorish armies are like big cities, as many people follow them and come to the camp at all hours [16] without being questioned. Sevagy's men, therefore, passed through unnoticed, and as they were so divided (into small parties) no one looked at them or questioned them particularly at that hour and in a place, to all appearances safe. The divided party of Sevagy joined at the tent of the General, killed all who were near it and those who came out of it without imagining what was the matter. They thought at first that it was the noise of an elephant got loose, for such noise was common. Having then encircled the camp of the General on all sides, they entered it and captured all the captains who were sheltered there. At the same time they went on killing outside, but nobody in the whole army could explain the tumult, for the confusion was so great that there was nothing but shouts. Sevagy ordered some of his men to raise a cry in this confusion that Sevagy had killed Belulghan and all the officers who were with him, and all who could, should save their lives. When this was heard, there remained no one to restore order or seek [17] counsel, all sought a place to hide. Others killed their friends and thousands were despatched. The confusion lasted the whole night. The light of the morning found the camp with dead more numerous than the victors. Sevagy was victorious and richer with the spoil of elephants and horses which he sought and valued more than anything. His men at once went to salute Sevagy in congratulation of the victory, in the presence of Belulghan who had realised who he was. They gathered the spoils, all of which belonged to the soldiers, except gold and silver that had to be delivered in their entirety to Sevagy under grave penalties. This was done with rare punctuality. Sevagy gave them on this account a good salary and with such punctuality that on the

appearance of the New Moon each one received what had been promised him at the time of enlistment. While the soldiers refreshed themselves from their labour with the luxuries of the Moors, Sevagy expostulated with the vanquished General. "Come here," he said, "what share had these idols in the offences, thou say'st, I committed! A brave exploit [18] was it (indeed) to destroy stone buildings and to break mute images that could not offer thee any resistance. Dost thou know that if thou hadst not committed these barbarities, I would never resolve to seek thee. But knowing what thou didst in hatred of me, I at once decided to show thee thy lack of sense. If on my account thou felt such passion against insensible things, what wouldst thou do if thou hadst me under thy ire. Be assured that if I had not so much offence against thee and so much reason on my side. I would never punish thee with more humiliation than thou hast suffered, but to make thee realise what evil thou didst commit in wishing me so much ill, thou wilt pay with thy life for what thou hast done. This said, he ordered his head to be cut off, swearing that henceforth he would do the same thing in the mosques he found, and in many places he committed the same (insults) and more.⁴ Among the captured officers was found a brother of his confederate Rastumusaman. He not only permitted him to go free with many presents, but on his account granted life to others and gave a horse to each of them for riding. They all promised, [19] in return of these good terms, no more to take up arms against him. This success caused great concern and fear not only in the whole of the Kingdom, but still more in the king himself, who particularly felt the death of Belulghan, the only old and respectable captain he had on his

⁴ The Jesuits of the Karnatak also brought the same charge against Shivaji. "Sabagi," they wrote, "desecrated their mosques." (H. Heras in *Historical Miscellany* of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, serial No. 31, p. 13.) But the charge does not seem to be well founded, as Khafi Khan says that Shivaji "made it a rule that whenever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques, the Book of God, or the women of any one." (Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. VII, p. 260.) Shivaji "granted *inam* lands for the illumination of, and food offerings to, the shrines of Muhammadan saints, and Muslim mosques were maintained by state allowance." (*Sabhasad bakhar*, p. 33; Sen, *Siva Chhatrapati*, pp. 38-39.)

side. The credit of Sevagy increased throughout the kingdom to such an extent that his name became formidable and so when he left that place for the North, he did not meet with resistance anywhere. All the citizens came out to receive him and to render him voluntary obedience with the fixed tributes and considerable presents. He ordered them not to pay tribute to any one else who might come to collect it, and if on that account they were threatened with any harm, they were to tell him that tribute had been paid to Sevagy, and if that was not sufficient they should give *Durai*⁵ in his name. *Durai* is to demand the aid of somebody to whom an appeal is made. *Durai Sevagy*—I accuse you and summon you on the part of Sevagy, and if it was not obeyed an information was immediately sent for [20] prompt punishment. To the principal people he gave his *Farmans*⁶ or patents. Though the usual honour was not done to such papers, when they were shown to the tax collectors of the King or of the lords, they roused so much fear in their hearts and caused such embarrassment that most of the tax collectors left their duty unperformed and if any of them still dared (to perform his duty), (Sevagy) after learning where he resided, sent (his men) to attack his house at night, where he was immediately killed and everything was set on fire. Sevagy's name, however, had already become so terrible that it was very seldom that anybody dared to defy him. He also resolved to take from Idalcao a great fortress, situated on a high hill, that was as strong by nature as (it was) well fur-

⁵ A word of obscure etymology "shouted aloud by a petitioner for redress at a Court of Justice, or as any one passes who is supposed to have it in his power to aid in rendering the justice sought. It has a kind of analogy, as Thevenot pointed out over 200 years ago, to the old Norman *Haro! Haro! viens à mon aide mon Prince!* (Also Portuguese *Aq 'd 'El Rei!*—S.N.S.) We cannot doubt that the word is really a form of the Sanskrit *droha*, 'injury, wrong.' And this is confirmed by the form in Ibn Batuta (*Darōhai us-Sultan!*) and the Mahr. *durāhi*; "an exclamation or expression used in prohibiting in the name of the Raja. . . . implying an imprecation of his vengeance in case of disobedience." (*Molesworth's Dict.*); also Tel. and Canar. *durāi* 'protest, prohibition, caveat, or veto in arrest of proceedings." (*Hobson Jobson*, p. 321. See also Dalgado, *Glossario Luso-Asiatico*, Vol. I, p. 373.)

⁶ Persian *farmān*, from *farmūdan*, to order. An order, patent or passport. (*Hobson Jobson*, p. 354.)

nished by art. It was so high and lofty that it could be seen from the adjacent country to the distance of many leagues. It was situated thirteen leagues from the sea in the area between Chaul and Caranja. And it was believed that no industry could subdue it, it was so shaped that from the highest top of that steep hill could be seen every place round its base. And if people [21] intended to ascend it, they could not do so by more than one road, and this road was so well circumscribed and narrow that the big rocks at the foot of the castle sufficed for all who might be seen, without in any case being able to cause harm to those above. This hill is called Rayaguer⁷ that is the Royal Residence, for the inhabitants say that here lived in ancient times the King of those parts. Sevagy knew how im-

⁷ "In the spread of Shivaji's power, in 1648 Rayri . . . was given up to his partizans." (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Kolaba volume, p. 363.) It was at that time held by Sidi of Janjira. According to Sabhasad, Rairi or Raigad was captured by Shivaji from an Adilshahi commander and subsequently its fortification was improved and strengthened." According to Jedhe Chronology, Rairi was captured from Chandra Rao More in 1656. Chandra Rao, who was a loyal adherent of the Sultan of Bijapur, was induced by Hailhat Rao and Balaji Naik Silimbkar, to alight from the fort. "Lying to the west of the Sahyadris, it is surrounded on every side by a sea of mountains. It rises, however, higher than any of its neighbours. To climb it to-day, when undefended, is a most arduous task. To storm it, if properly fortified and garrisoned, was to Shivaji's contemporaries an absolute impossibility." (*A History of the Maratha People* by Kincaid and Parasanis, Vol. I, p. 176.) Henry Oxinden speaks of the natural strength of Rairi in his Narrative, and Grose heard, in the middle of the next century, that it was "the most compleatly impregnable place in the universe." "It is represented as a fortified mound of rocks, extremely high, and so steep, as but by one narrow pathway, to be accessible to human footing; with this advantage, that the enclosure of it is large enough, independent of the stores accumulated there, to grow grain sufficient for the maintenance of its garrison, which were it but a handful of men, could with pleasure defend it against the greatest armies that could be brought to take it; not to mention that the passes and defiles leading to it among the mountains, are so ragged and narrow, that the Morattoes must be all asleep, to suffer any armies to penetrate to that fortress." (*A Voyage to the East Indies*, Vol. I, p. 88.) "The natural strength of the hill, in a most difficult country and almost surrounded by sheer walls of rock, and its position close to a highway of trade with easy access to the Deccan, and with a safe retreat to the island forts of the Ratnagiri coast influenced Shivaji in his choice of Rāyri." (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Kolaba, p. 363.)

portant that fortress would be to him as a secure place to reside in, but he knew well the difficulty of obtaining it, as confirmed by many a failure of superior forces. Only hunger and money could accomplish such an enterprise. The first, because it extinguishes, and the second, because it corrupts nature and thus succeeds. He sent a message to the Governor of the fortress requesting him for a private interview with him in the middle of the hill, as Sevagy had to confer with him about an important question. He (the Governor) replied that if the interview was in the form of a duel, though he did not fear any single man, this action would not be well appraised [22] particularly when they were in arms, as all doubts could be resolved by their means. But in their present relation nothing occurred to him that could give occasion for an interview, unless, of course, it was an important affair and Sevagy lacked paper and ink which the Governor would send him. Sevagy knew that the Governor was right, and immediately wrote to him that he did not mean what the Governor thought, but his intention was rather different. It was to serve him and give him what would enable him to spend the whole of his life in rest without any dependence on the elephant-driver's son, and as these things required much information, he had begged for an interview in that manner. The Governor began to think of the proposal, and this is the crime from which follows the greatest sin. He understood, more or less, what would be the proposal of Sevagy, but either because he did not want it to be supposed that he feared Sevagy, or because he already wanted to please him, the Governor replied that he would grant the interview, and assigned the place, each regulating how his men should behave [23] during the interview which was to take place half way up the hill.

On the appointed day at the appointed time Sevagy ascended while the Governor descended, both armed for anything that might follow and, on their arrival at the place, they made their salutes and sat at a distance of four *covados*⁸ from each other. Sevagy expressed his purpose in a few words and spoke as follows: "I know well, valorous captain, to what I expose

⁸ A measure used in Portugal, which contains three quarters of a yard. (Michaelis, *Diccionario da Lingua Portuguesa e Inglesa*, Vol. I, p. 207.)

myself, should my confidence be abused, I wanted that there should, therefore, be between us two a memorandum, I mean that both of us will profit, you will be rich and I secure. We all work in this world to free ourselves from poverty, and even nature persuades all to be secure from it. I solicit what nature urges and men want, and I may very well say that I wish the good of us both. You know already what I have undertaken and also what I have accomplished, and because fortune favours me I must continue it, for in my heart there is no desire to turn back. I have to achieve a great name or to lose my life. For the latter misfortune [24] there is no lack of occasions and I cannot secure the former good luck without your favour. I assure you that I know how to deserve this favour. I shall give you money with which you may in happiness spend the rest of your life which I shall protect with the affection of my heart, that you may always live without fear, having none to be afraid of." Sevagy would have said more, but the Governor interrupted him with the following words: "I do not understand, sir, what you mean. I shall tell you more, so that I may get your answer and know moreover in what I shall have to serve you as it should not be anything that may injure my credit, for you know, to honourable men reputation means more than food." "In this way," said Sevagy, "you mean to say that I do not possess a good name." "I do not mean to say so," replied the Governor, "for I spoke only about myself. You have already achieved the greatest reputation, and so great it is that the mere mention of your name in these parts leads people to think that you are present. Such is the respect you enjoy that the mention of your name is sufficient to frighten the whole of this kingdom; [25] but try to explain yourself, for the sun is quickly going to sleep at his accustomed place, and I don't know if we can, without a memorandum finish another day what we shall not conclude here." "I am satisfied," said Sevagy; "you know, sir, that I have already got by my victories a convenient retreat where I can keep my treasures with tolerable security. But on the examination and consideration of the site of this mountain I realise that everything will be more secure here than in any other place. This was the business that I did not like to confide in a letter. It should be confined between us without anybody knowing our secret." The Governor was surprised, or pretended

to be so, at this answer and replied that he had well understood Sevagy's intention, but he never believed that he could propose face to face the sale of the King's fortress involving the breach of the allegiance which he owed and which he had promised to the King. Sevagy laughed at this moment and observed that none need keep faith with him who did not keep faith with his natural sovereign, the Emperor of Bisnaga⁹ against whom Vizapur, Golconda and others had rebelled, and not contented with that, carried their arms against him till he was totally ruined, as you know quite well. I declared that my principal task was to avenge this injury and may God favour me in all my intentions. For my friend, Fortune helps him who has more power, as none of these bought their crown with money, nor was it left to them by their ancestors. Each one works for himself as did they too, and everything else is (due to) ignorance. The Governor yielded to these and other arguments, but much less would have sufficed for an ambitious heart to overthrow reason. The price and the security of the Governor were then discussed. His security was provided for in the same hill and nothing could please him more; the price was two hundred rupias, equivalent in those days to two hundred thousand cruzados¹⁰ and now equal to three hundred thousand cruzados, for each rupia is worth two pardaos¹¹ and each pardao is worth three hundred reis.¹² There still remained to be won the good will of some other officers, but as all the soldiers were Gentios, and Sevagy sent immediately the shrewdest of his soldiers there, everything was easily concluded with the help of the Governor. The Governor was paid, and many others were remunerated, and almost all remained in the service of Sevagy, who ascended to take possession of the fortress. Though

⁹ Vijayanagar, also called Narsinga by the early Portuguese. The Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda were not officers of the Hindu ruler of Vijayanagar, as Guarda seems to suggest, though both of them frequently sought his alliance and suffered many humiliations from him. On one occasion Sadashivaraya of Vijayanagar treated Ali Adilshah I as his servant. (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 446.)

¹⁰ An old coin of Portugal no longer in use. The new *Cruzado* was worth about two shillings nine pence.

¹¹ *Pardao* was a silver coin of Portuguese India.

¹² *Rei* is an imaginary coin of reckoning. At present a *rei* is equivalent to a pie of British India and 1000 reis make a Portuguese *escudo*.

he was there, and though he had it well garrisoned, he could not quite believe that the fortress was his. The extensive territories subject to this fortress immediately acknowledged his sovereignty, and he at once ordered all his treasures, scattered in many places, and all his belongings to be brought to the famous and impregnable fortress of Rayaguer.

CHAPTER III

SEVAGY RETURNS TO CONCAO AND WHAT HE DID THERE

With the fortress of Rayaguer in his possession Sevagy considered himself more powerful than Idalcao himself, and, to recover what it had cost him, he set out, as was his custom, to plunder, and realising that in [28] the open country his spoils might cost him dear, he went through woods and bushes which he found convenient, for his men were brought up in forests. He entered into the Concao and commenced his operations with the Deçaes who inhabited it, viz. Lacomosanto,¹ Queissoa naraque, Queisoaporuum and Raulosinay.² The Deçaes are what the Princes of Italy were when they paid tribute to the Emperor, for in the same manner do they all pay to the King Idalcao. All the above mentioned (Deçaes) were neighbours to the city of Goa. Each one of them lived with great arrogance in small principalities and, as all the four combined did not possess a territory more than eight leagues in length and three in breadth, they made war against each other, till they confided in the mediation of the Subedar of Idalcao for the settlement of their disputes. The Subedar is, we may say, what the Vicar of the Empire was at the time referred to in Italy. He was commonly called there Visrey³ This office was sold at the Court

¹Lakham Savant succeeded his brother Som Savant in the Government of Savantvadi. According to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. X, p. 440, Lakham died in 1665 but he is mentioned in a treaty concluded by Shivaji with the Portuguese of Goa in December, 1667. Lakham Savant had taken refuge in the Portuguese territories and was creating disturbances in Shivaji's state from that safe retreat. By the above-mentioned treaty Lakham and his adherents were to be expelled from the territories of the Portuguese Crown if they were found guilty of any such misdeed. (Biker, *Tratados da India*, Vol. IV, p. 121.)

²Keshav Naik and Keshav Prabhu belonged to Pernem, while Raulu Sinay, a Sarswat as his name indicates, ruled at Bicholim and was one of the ancestors of the Desais of Verem, Ponda, Naroá, Bicholim and Langão. (Pissurlencar—*Portugueses e Maratas, Shicas*, p. 14.)

³Viceroy. Marathi *Vihare* is a corrupt form of the old Portuguese word in the text. *

to him who gave most, and he did in his district what could be expected from this principle. They robbed, not according to law at all but without any, and when the complaints mournfully crossed the air [29] to the Court, the office was put to auction anew without any consideration whether its term had or had not terminated. Another (governor) came, and it was sometimes necessary to take arms against the first to get possession. And if victorious, he also mis-used his victory with tyranny and robbery, for when the King robs what can the subjects and the robbed do? When Sevagy arrived at these places, the first thing he did was to style himself as the Subedar not of the King but of his own. He made a long residence there and thus dealt out great justice, for the greatest [act of Justice] was to rob these barbarians whom he plundered, and of restitution he ignored even the name. They then surrendered the land. Who knows why they suffered such insults. He sacked Vengurla,⁴ a place where the Dutch had a factory. The factory was not raided for the Sevagis did not make their grimaces at the muskets. Then he attacked Banda⁵ that belonged to Lacomosanto who resisted for a while but soon retired in the great forest that saved his life, and Sevagy robbed Lacomosanto of his wealth that he did not take with him. He presently entered into the district of Queissoanaraque [30] and Quessoaporuum. They offered great resistance, I think because they were more poor, for wealth seems to have an understanding with valour that where one presided the other should not stay. Sevagy suffered some loss of men but at last put them to flight, and here in the city of Goa we find them as miserable refugees. Raulosinay met with the same fate and made the same journey, and in Goa they all resided till Sevagy left for his own territories after sacking their lands and Manorem, Uguris, Bicholim and Ponda.⁶

⁴ "In 1638, under the name Fingurla, Vengurla is mentioned as a very convenient haven, where the Dutch had a trade settlement and victualled their ships during their eight months' blockade of Goa." (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. X, p. 377.)

⁵ About 6 miles south of Vadi. It was a place of considerable importance during the 16th and the first half of the 17th century.

⁶ Ponda was captured by Shivaji in 1675. In 1677 one Trimbak Pandit was Shivaji's Subedar at Ponda. He was succeeded by one Dharmaji Nagnatha. (*Pissurlencar, Portugueses e Maratas, I, Shivaji*, p. 39.) Ponda now forms a part of Portuguese India as does Bicholim; Manorem

In the northern parts he was already obeyed by all, and after these enterprises he was everywhere received with triumph. Only Rayapur⁷ where the English had a factory refused to yield. The English, however, confided in the protection that the Governor of the province had promised them, and the Governor thinking that Sevagy would fly from the English muskets at Rayapur as he had fled from the muskets of the Dutch at Vengurla, had not been much disturbed in his sleep (had not been overwatchful) when Sevagy appeared and destroyed all, killed the Governor, and captured the English of whom the Factor and the partners [31] were suffering long imprisonment in the hill of Rayaguer. Many of them died there, for water in English stomach on *Cacherin de lentinhas*⁸ is the sure forerunner of death. Sevagy felt pity, and, as he thought that lack of exercise would kill them. he directed the governor of the hill to allow them more liberty so that they might walk about the hill within the sight of the fortress. They did so, sometimes they returned early and sometimes late until one day they fled; but not knowing the intricate roads of those confused woods they lost themselves, and when they thought they were far from the fortress they laid themselves down to sleep, and as they were tired they slept so heavily that the next day they woke very late and found themselves very near the fortress. They excused themselves (by saying) that borne down with the affliction of the prison and by oversight which was due to such long imprisonment, they had slept in that fashion. These explanations were generally credited, for there was no change in their treatment, nor were their outings prohibited, and they observed the

is probably Manoli, a large town on the Malphrabha in Belgaum Dt.; Uguris may be identified with Ugargol, south-east of Manoli. Bicholim was annexed to the Portuguese territories in 1746.

⁷ Rajapur in the modern district of Ratnagiri. The first English Factory was probably founded in 1649. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. X, p. 361.)

⁸ *Cacherin de lentinhas* must be *khichrī* as lentil or pulse forms one of its principal ingredients. Fryer, moreover tells us that *khichrī* was a favourite dish of the Marathas. "Their delightfulest food being only *cutchery*, a sort of Pulse and Rice mixed together, and boiled in Butter, with which they grow Fat" (p. 81). *Kichrī* causes considerable thirst and as the English were not used to vegetable diets it might have proved unhealthy to them.

forests better for their second flight. In this they had better [31] success, for knowing that Idalcao had for the second time armed himself against Sevagy and the army was within the territories of Rayaguer, they boldly went out, and once out of the hill, they found the encampment at a little distance, where they were welcomed and sheltered for the sake of the information about Sevagy which they supplied. From here they went to Chaul during the regime of Captain Antonio Galvao de Sa and thence to Bombaim⁹ after ten years of imprisonment, but they had the pleasure of depriving Sevagy of three hundred thousands pagodes that he had demanded for their ransom.¹⁰ Pagodes are coins of gold equivalent to five rupias and each rupia is approximately equal to a cruzado.

⁹ Bombay, also called Mumbai, after the goddess Mumba.

¹⁰ The English Factors of Rajapur helped Siddi Jauhar in 1660 and it was on this account that they were arrested by Shivaji. The President of Surat wrote to the prisoners on the 10th March, 1662—"How you came 'in prison you knowe very well. 'Twas not for defending the companies goods ; 'twas for going to the seige of Pannella and tossing balls, with a flagg that was knowne to bee the Englishes. . . . It (Shivaji's action) was but as any other would doe having power to revenge himself of such affronts"—Foster, *English Factories in India*, Vol. 1660-1664, p. 87. The prisoners were Henry Revington, Richard Taylor, Randolph Taylor and Philip Cyffard. They made an ineffective attempt to escape from Songad and were transferred to Raigad where they were released in 1663. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, p. 299.

CHAPTER IV

SEVAGY CONTINUES HIS CONQUESTS, ENTERING THE TERRITORIES OF THE GREAT MOGOL, WHO SENDS HIS UNCLE SEXTAGHAN WITH EIGHTY THOUSAND HORSE AGAINST HIM

Sevagy became puffed up with his success against Idalcao from whom he had conquered so many provinces [33] and fortresses. For his security in that kingdom he possessed the impregnable fortress of Rayaguer which had in it excellent water and was so abundantly provided with food that he had nothing to fear. He turned his thoughts to making himself so great (being already much feared), that he would have none to respect in the whole of Industan. As the greatest power in this region was the Great Mogol, he now desired to carry his arms against him, for the other kings would be undeceived (*para que se desenganassem*) when they saw that he slighted the greatest. He entered into his territories and conquered what belonged to the Great Mogol in that part as far as Upper Chaul,¹ half a league distant from Lower Chaul, a Portuguese city. Upper Chaul was a great place inhabited by Mouros and Gentios, all rich merchants, and there were many weavers with the most curious merchandise. All worked hard and its great commerce made the land very prosperous. It was, however, an open place, for with the Portuguese as neighbours with whom there was a lasting peace, and as [34] Idalcao owed allegiance to its king, it had no more enemies to fear. That Sevagy should dare to molest its king was not even thought of until he entered into the houses of the city and robbed all in their thousands. He immediately laid siege to a castle (with a redoubt) where

¹Upper Chaul, a city of great importance and antiquity, called *Chaul de cima* by the Portuguese, changed hands several times. It was ultimately annexed by Shivaji and formed the headquarters of a subhedar. The Portuguese fortress at Lower Chaul was finished in 1524. See *Bombay Gazetteer*, Kolaba volume, pp. 289-310, and Gerson da Cunha, *Antiquities of Chaul*, p. 39. Chaul was ceded to the Peshwa in 1740. (Danvers, *Portuguese in India*, Vol. II, pp. 414-415).

resided the Governor of the province who surrendered in a few days. Sevagy ordered that all Mouros who would not acknowledge his sovereignty, should be put to death, and all who would, should be pardoned. He at once ordered the construction of a fortress in the place of the redoubt and provided for better defence of the country under him. The poor inhabitants, not having been assured of security, fled mostly to the city of the Portuguese of whom they begged shelter, but as they were so numerous and the place was not big (enough) they were permitted to live outside the ditch in the open fields and the houses were so built that they could not serve as a signal, if in any case fire was set to them. A great settlement called Camarabando was (thus) founded where they lived from 1652 to 1667 in which year Sevagy restored to the Great Mogol twenty [35] fortresses,^{1a} as we shall relate later on.

From here Sevagy passed to Biundim and Galiana,³ fourteen leagues to the north, all the way through the territories of the Great Mogol, destroying everything till he reached the above-mentioned cities. He suddenly appeared in Galiana and robbed an immense amount of wealth, for it was the home of great merchants. At the same time when Galiana was sacked he ordered an attack on Biundim, three leagues from the other city, where he repaired in person when there was nothing more to be got at Galiana. He remained longer in Biundim to work some wonders. He not only robbed what the inhabitants possessed but (also) great treasures of which they were ignorant. They were reasonably surprised that a stranger should dig from earth (things) of which the oldest of them knew nothing even by tradition. The city subdued and sacked, Sevagy started to walk through the streets accompanied by many people who carried by his orders levers, pickaxes and many other instruments. Sevagy would stop at this or that house and pointing with his hand, would order that certain parts of the walls should be dug and a few blows [36] would reveal big copper cauldrons full of gold, both in coins and bullions. In this manner

^{1a} The treaty of Purandar was concluded in 1665 and not in 1667. Shivaji surrendered 23 of his forts to the Emperor of Delhi.

³ Bhivandi and Kalyan, though invariably mentioned together as Kalyan-Bhivandi by the Marathas, are separate towns. Kalyan is still an important place in the modern Thana district.

great treasures that were hidden and totally unknown were openly removed. Such burial of treasures is common in the Orient. I think the reason underlying this barbarous custom is based on the Pythagorian theory of transmigration of soul that leaves some hope that even after death they will enjoy their treasures.

Satiated with wealth, if cupidity can be satiated, Sevagy left for the Gate called Juner,³ only three leagues distant from Biundim, but six leagues, if the highest part is to be reached. The road by the (hillside) slope is so steep and so narrow that more than one person cannot go up, and if anybody happens to come from above, there is no other alternative but for one of them to lie down on the ground with his head upwards (this has been done) on a road full of stones or trees that hurt him much, while the other passes above. He has not only to climb on foot but has to take great care and caution, for if he slips or falls he will be reduced to a thousand pieces before reaching the bottom. None of these difficulties [37] prevented Sevagy from going to sack the city of Juner (it is from this city that the place takes its name), for he had sent from Biundim some men to take posts so that one might climb and carry news of his presence in the neighbourhood. Climbing the Gate with the difficulties that an army would naturally suffer, he ordered them to take the road of the city of Juner, two leagues away, and so adjusted (*como tempo medido*) the time that the entries and exits of the city (which was also open not only because of the security of the place but also by the King's orders) might be secured before dawn. This duty was taken up by the cavalry, and Sevagy set out with the infantry to reach at daybreak, and when he arrived at the city it was already his. But as he did not find the treasures he expected, Sevagy thought that they were buried and hidden and he subjected the inhabitants to much tortures that yielded him many thousands. The Avaldar, the Governor of the province, was, in particular, much tormented, and he delivered to him a very considerable sum consisting of his as well as of his master's money. And it is well understood why. [38] It should be known that the salary that the Mogol gives his nobles for their service and for the maintenance

³ Junnar, 55 miles west of Ahmadnagar.

of a number of horse, which they are obliged to keep always ready, and to serve with them whenever ordered, consists of entire kingdoms and sometimes of more than one. Kingdoms, provinces, cities with their rights (*termos*) whatever they may be, their general name is *jaguir*.⁴ Big *Jaguir* and small *jaguir* is the difference they make and appointment is made for a *jaguir* of so many horses. The big *Jaguir*holders are like kings in their *jaguirs* and they place in their *jaguirs* Governors who are invariably their servants. The Avaldar was the servant of a great *Umbrão*⁵ (the grandees are called so). Cubatghan⁶ was his name and the city of Juner was the metropolis of his *jaguir* where all the revenue was collected to be sent annually by the Governor to his master. This *jaguir* yielded thirty laques of pagodes per year. Each laque is equal to hundred thousand and (thirty laques) make three millions of pagodes, each pagode is equivalent to five cruzados. These Avaldars could not risk this money without the order of their masters, and Cubatghan [39], who had other considerable income, had not for two years sent any order for any money and all had been kept but for Sevagy, who took it all. He left Juner^{6a} for another great place, five leagues away but belonging to the same *jaguir*, to which he dealt the same treatment (where he did the same). This place was defended by the great mountain of Punadar,⁷ almost as spacious, as lofty and as impregnable as his esteemed (*prezada* or beloved) Rayaguer. In its environs (suburbs) there were many houses, gardens and tanks and he often lived there. And when he was detained at this or similar other places he observed a rule which shows how careful and cautious he was. All along the roads were posted the most faithful spies, and his guards had the order to inform him whenever anybody wanted to see

⁴ From Persian *Jah* a place and *girftan* to take. A fief or "a hereditary assignment of land and of its rent as annuity". (*Hobson Jobson*, p. 446.)

⁵ Correctly *Umarā*, plural of *Amir*. But it is commonly used for a lord or grandee. (*Hobson Jobson*, p. 637.) For the classification of military officers during the Mughal period. (Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 9.)

⁶ Qubad Khan was one of the officers who served under Jai Singh in the Deccan. (Sarkar, *Shivaji and his Times*, First edition, p. 120.)

^{6a} Puner in the original must be a misprint, the context is clear.

⁷ Purandar, 6 miles south of Saswad.

him, whatever the hour might be. This order was punctually executed and he always remained dressed and he got up at all hours and spoke to all who came, and if it was anything concerning his service, the man was immediately rewarded and if it was the mail or some other information, he noted down the date it was written and the time of its despatch [40] and rewarded them according to their diligence, so that all liked to serve him and ceaselessly worked to please him. All these accomplished, he went to add new treasures to those of Rayaguer.

The Avaldar of Juner informed his master Cubatghan of the loss, ruin and the lamentable pillage that his *jaguir* had suffered from the tyranny of Sevagy. The master was at the Court of Dely where the most powerful *Umbraos* ordinarily resided, not merely to dignify the court but also to free it from fear. When Cubatghan received the letter he carried it to King Oranzebe, the Great Mogol, who has been reigning for many years and still reigns to-day, the 28th of August, 1695. After delivering the letter he asked his permission to go to relieve his lands that had been destroyed. Oranzebe gave him the permission but as it would cause so much anxiety if he failed to do anything, the Emperor ordered a powerful army to be sent with him. He nominated for its *Saradar*⁸ or *Sarlescarim*,⁹ which is the same as the General, his uncle Sextaghan, brother of his mother, with eighty thousand horse [41] to which was added the seven thousand of Cubatghan and the twelve thousand of the General. The custom of these people is, when they are appointed General for some enterprise, to carry to the field a small tent, which is called *Cuche*¹⁰ (signifies march) with its gate towards the place of their destination. Immediately behind it, is fitted the tent of the General, which is followed by those of other officers, and in the shortest time there rises a great city. The horses also are in the following manner posted in tents ranged with intervening roads. A big iron peg is driven into the earth with an iron ring on its top, and in front of it, another is in the same manner fixed, leaving space for a rope,

⁸ Chief.

⁹ *Sar-i-Laskar*. In the Maratha army the *Sar Laskar* held a position inferior to that of the *Sarnobat* or Commander-in-Chief. (Sen, *Military system of the Marathas*, p. 59.)

¹⁰ More correctly *kich*, march.

and from ring to ring goes a rope held and stretched securely and to this the horses are fastened with their halters in a sufficient space, all very well covered and without any confusion before being equipped. Almost always they pass their time in this fashion, for almost always they are in the field. There they are cleaned twice a day with such minuteness and care that it is a great offence to see an unclean horse in any part of the camp. If the men also were so clean there would remain nothing to be desired. There is no captain who does not possess elephants. The least of them has ten and the greatest fifty. Of camels, the captain of the poorest *jaguir* has eight hundred to carry his baggage. These are not quartered in the army, for they always pass through fields where there is nothing to fear, but when there is an enemy they are quartered in the army in the same way as the horses. Each captain also brings with him many merchants with everything necessary for human life, and they lend them money to help them in their enterprise. These merchants give to the soldiers of that company whatever they want and on the day of the New Moon, which is the day of payment and profusion, deduct what had been taken. In short, each army is a populous city and so abundantly provided with everything that what cannot be obtained in cities is sought in the camp. With the *Umbraos*, who were to accompany him, the General then set out for the Deccan with eighty thousand horse. Cubatghan wished for wings but as [43] Juner was more than six hundred leagues from the capital, and armies with so much baggage march but slowly, five months were spent on the way, though they made a great hurry. This was also due to the roundabout way they had to take in order to lodge near the rivers, an essential and unavoidable necessity, for only rivers can supply the drink of so many troops. And for this reason there are some days of two leagues and some days of eight leagues, according to the order of the *Mirmanzel*,¹¹ who is the

¹¹ "To preserve order in the audience-hall and its approaches, and to regulate the access of the public thereto, there were a number of guards (*Yasawal*), at whose head were several officers styled *Mir Tüzak* (literally, Lords of Arrangement). The first of these officials was one of the great officers of state, and it was his duty when the Court was on the march, to fix the route, to decide on the marches, and to proceed ahead, select a place for encampment, and lay out the site of the various camps and

Aposentador or Quarter Master, and who has absolute control in this matter. He not only knows the position of the rivers but also the roads where there is enough grass for the innumerable beasts that serve an army. Some rebels or chieftains, therefore, save themselves for a long time by burning the fields, as big armies are then unable to seek them, and they are strong enough for small forces. Generally an expedition (march) is made in the winter, for the grass is then green and wet. The grandeur with which Sextaghan marched will be discredited in Europe, but it is necessary that we should speak about it [44], though most people refuse to believe everything outside their country and out of their sight. This proud Mouro had with him two field tents, each carried by three hundred elephants. When he set out from the first, the other was fitted in the place where he would stop that day. Each tent contained houses for him; the tent in which he used to give audience was sixty feet in length and thirty in breadth and its covering was supported on strings of iron, fifteen feet in height. This was followed by bed chambers, private rooms, gardens full of flowers, conveyed in millions of vases, and so delicious that one who saw them would doubt whether they were natural. All the houses were so neat, and furnished with such beautiful and rich furniture that even the court had nothing better. Immediately behind were houses for the ladies, for maid-servants, for many eunuchs and innumerable servants; there were other houses for pantry, for plates and different kitchens. Outside, there were houses for the revenue office, for the criminal and civil courts and many other departments. In the front of the tent there was a courtyard so big and capacious that [45] the military exercises with all their combats and defences were performed here. All this fabric was surrounded by a wall made of thick doubled cloth, twenty feet in height, supported by several iron cylinders with spurs fixed in the ground. Each one of the *Umbraos*, who are all nobles and very rich, convey themselves in this manner. The only difference is that their baggage is carried by camels, for none of them could have elephants like Sextaghan. Does

the lines of shops (bazār). When carrying out these duties, the first *Mir Tūzak* was more commonly known as *Mir Manzil*, Lord of the Stages". (Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 190-191.)

anybody know how this army looks? The servants are required to raise the tent of the General at the same time that the other is fitted for the following *Manzel* (station). The *Mirmanzel* goes every night to report to the General about the events of the day and to consult him about the following march, and when he finds the army tired, he represents to the General that it will be good to rest that day and the General gives him the permission. Immediately an official goes out and loudly proclaims in the above mentioned courtyard—*Sabbaa Moghamo Oga*.¹² *Sabbaa*—to-morrow, *Moghamo*—rest, *Oga*—we will have [46]. The proclamation is followed by innumerable instruments (as a signal) that all should announce it either by sound of instruments or by voice. The instruments of all the captains immediately respond and the whole army is informed in an instant. The same thing is done on the night before the march when the proclaimer says—*Sabbaa cuche oga*.¹³ to-morrow we will march, and while they march let us turn to Sevagy.

¹² *Subah* (morning, hence to-morrow.) *Maquam* (encampment, or a stage) *hoga* (will be). *Moghamo*, here, is most probably a mistransliteration for *maquam*, an alternative reading may be *mouquif*.

¹³ *Subah kûch hoga*, to-morrow there will be a march.

CHAPTER V

WHAT SEVAGY DID BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF SEXTAGHAN

Having taken the two chief cities in Cubatghan's *jaguir* and treasured in such a secure place the vast wealth acquired in that expedition, Sevagy wanted to possess the entire *jaguir*. He went on extending his conquest and everywhere the populace, even as far as the great city called great Puna, submitted to him without any resistance. He ordered the citizens to take his *Cabul*¹ (security) and asked them to come out to receive it with festivities and presents if they did not want [47] to be ruined, for Sevagy ruined those who did not yield. Here also he ordered houses, tanks, and gardens to be built and Sevagy himself assisted in everything and all the works. After nominating a captain in his place (to whom the people submitted and offered presents), he went on foot among the people without being recognised by any of them. Leaning on his sword, he went about taking note of everything that happened; and he jotted on the palm of his hand all important points which he might (otherwise) forget, and for this purpose he always carried an inkstand with him. Of the whole *jaguir* there remained only two splendid hills, one called great Punadar² and the other, little Punadar. The latter consisted of two peaks, not more than ten paces from each other and much above the clouds. Great Punadar consisted of a hill of still greater height with a tableland half a league in extent at the top and excellent water. With these advantages it was to all appearances

¹ More commonly *kaul*, an assurance.

² Probably he means Purandar and Vajragad. "It is really a double fort, with an independent and very strong sister enclosure, named Vajragarh, on a ridge running east of it. Purandar consists of an upper fort or citadel with precipitous sides all around and a lower fort or *macht*, 300 feet or more below it. The latter is a ledge running round the waist of the hill with many a winding, the entire circuit being four miles. On the north side the ledge widens out into a broad terrace". (Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, First edition, p. 135.)

impregnable. When Sevagy saw these two hills he felt a desire to make them like similar other sites by building fortresses thereon for the greater security of his person and countless wealth. But the two places were well garrisoned, and as his attitude (*genio*) was known, having been already manifested by the capture of Rayaguer, these two heights had been strengthened. Sevagy surrounded great Punadar with fifty thousand men, but it was like the ancient war of the giants capable of conquering the heaven itself. He tried all the contrivances he could, but when nothing availed and many men had been killed by stones thrown from above, Sevagy resolved to give a turn to the fight by changing steel for silver. He gave the captain a hundred thousand rupees, asking him in the first place whether he expected in his life such a sum from Cubatghan. The fort was delivered and the fight finished. Little Punadar followed the same example, for it appears that even among hills the great provides examples for the small. Sevagy gave money and dresses to the garrison of the two fortresses. Many of them remained in his service, others went away reporting the marvels heard from the people of the country they passed [49] through and Sevagy was pleased with the ease with which everybody submitted to him. Moreover, such was the good treatment he accorded to people and such was the honesty with which he observed the capitulations that none looked upon him without a feeling of love and confidence. By his people he was exceedingly loved; both in matters of reward and punishment he was so impartial that while he lived he made no exception for any person; no merit was left unrewarded, no offence went unpunished; and this he did with so much care and attention that he specially charged his Governors to inform him in writing of the conduct of his soldiers, mentioning in particular those who had distinguished themselves, and he would at once order their promotion, either in rank or in pay, according to their merit. He was naturally loved by all men of valour and good conduct. He often went about the highways, either alone or with a few companions, and conversed about himself with the wayfarers whom he usually met. He spoke very ill of himself and about other things [50] to which they responded (one way or the other); (in this way) he used to collect very useful information. If they spoke ill of

any measure and the complaint was reasonable, he would at once remedy it, learning on his way the affection or the hatred it caused in the people. In a short time he reached such a state that it was then regarded as a great wonder. It was reasonably regarded as a marvel that more soldiers entered than left his service while he was alive, for besides being so numerous and of such diverse castes, they were the subjects of other kings and were not themselves naturally very firm (in their adherence). But what surprises one most is that so many moral virtues should shine in a Gentio rebel and a reputed robber. He used to invigilate the soldiers' barracks at night and learn, from what he overheard, the proceedings of his ministers whom he gave high salaries that they might have no excuse for excesses. But they knew that he kept himself informed in every manner. If, however, anybody committed an offence, he was punished with surprising promptitude; the hours or the days that intervened [51] between the punishment and the commission of the offence could be in a way calculated according to the distance at which Sevagy was. He used to say, no sovereign who rules should excuse excesses, much less those of his grandees, for such an oversight when rightly construed must be regarded as a consent whereby the Kings participate in the crimes of their subjects. When he punishes them he not merely renders justice but avoids evils, which are ordinarily much greater than those he might overlook; and above all, it makes all contented, for when justice is administered equally to all without partiality, it does not cause discontent. With such a procedure of justice, without consulting any jurist, he made his subjects ever happy and his fame rose to such a height that throughout Industan it became as dreaded as it was cherished. The fortresses of the two Punadars captured, he made himself master of extensive territories and all immediately hurried with the richest gifts and presents to do obedience to him and to take his *Cabul*. He posted his Governors in these provinces; the fortresses were maintained out of the land revenue, specially [52] the *Aduanas* (they are dry ports or barren plots of land) yielded him huge sums whereby his treasures were augmented everyday. And when everybody thought that he would make his residence in these extensive and beautiful parts, Sevagy stationed garrisons where he thought necessary and appointed a Governor whom he invested

with a splendid revenue that he might shine in majesty and make people think that he was Sevagy himself (this was his ordinary method, but it was executed with a cunning that was unique in the world). He himself left for the district of Sula-poor³ where by force and cunning he took possession of twelve great and good fortresses. This was in the year 1660, the tenth quarter of his conquest, and he was 29 years of age⁴ and possessed sixty-four fortresses with all the lands under their jurisdiction that formed a vast estate. He had 40 fortresses in the Kingdom of Vizapur and 24 in that of the Great Mogol. Here was Sevagy, when in October at the end of the winter (in those parts),^{4a} the army of Sextaghan arrived at Guner⁵ and was quartered there, while [53] Cubatghan took account of his vassals for not resisting Sevagy and submitting to him in such a hurry. At the sight of this army Sevagy's men immediately dispersed (for such was the order that Sevagy had left, as he did not like to engage with such a powerful army in the open field) and retired where their master was.

The Mogol army refreshed itself from the strain of such a long march till the middle of November while Cubatghan effected ~~the~~ the cold remedies he found necessary to build afresh the great treasure of which Sevagy had robbed him.

³ Sholapur, the chief town of the district of the same name, is 165 miles south-east of Poona and 283 miles south-east of Bombay. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XX, p. 485.) It is quite likely that Shivaji passed through Sholapur district in 1660 as he proceeded that year as far as Gadag and Lakshmeshwar, if the Jedhe chronology is to be credited.

⁴ According to the *Jedhe Chronology* and *Shiva Bharat* Shivaji was born in 1630. Thevenot says that in 1664 Shivaji was 34 years old.

^{4a} The rainy season and not the Indian winter is meant here.

⁵ Guner is evidently a misprint for Punem, i.e., Poona. Cosme da Guarda's statement here is quite accurate. According to the *Jedhe Chronology*, Shaista Khan went to Poona in Ashvin of 1582 Shaka which corresponds to October, 1660.

CHAPTER VI

WHAT HAPPENED BETWEEN SEXTAGHAN AND SEVAGY

The Mogol army moved towards the country conquered by Sevagy. They marched with remarkable vigilance in constant fear of Sevagy's wiles. Sextaghan contented himself with waiting for the fitting up of one tent only, because the practice of fitting up another was not observed here. No one else was stationed in the vanguard, he himself marched in the van and everything went well and with so much order that it amply illustrated the opinion he had of his adversary. But in spite of all these precautions, he said or planned nothing that Sevagy did not immediately learn. Sevagy knew how to make new friends with money, and, like his wealth, his friends were innumerable, and they sent him information every hour. He was at great Punadar, but Sextaghan had not marched one league when he saw ten thousand horse of Sevagy, arrayed in four divisions, assault his army on all sides. The Mogol army also marched in separate detachments to make room for the numerous baggage, women and beasts, of which the camp was composed. For this reason none left their place, for each company guarded what belonged to it. The Mogols were in this suspense and difficulty when the troops of Sevagy inflicted a heavy loss upon them with dexterous expedition. They [55] assaulted one division and retired, but in the same manoeuvre fell upon another. The Mogols could not divine wherefrom they came, for it appeared as if Sevagy were everywhere ; the confusion in the army became in this manner very great. By these onslaughts Sevagy used to take plenty of spoils besides killing many men, and as his appearance and disappearance were effected in an instant, every foot of thicket made Sextaghan halt, for each presented some unusual aspect, without examining which he would not move.

At the place where the Mogol army was to encamp (as we have said, this is decided by the place having a good water-supply), appeared eight thousand horse commanded by Neotagy, Sevagy's uncle and contriver of ambushes. Besides

the eight thousand horse, Neotagy had posted two thousand on two sides of the road which the Mogol army had to take, but they were placed in such thick forests that this reserve caused no suspicion.

When the Mogol army saw these eight thousand horse in the place where it was found necessary to encamp, the vanguard halted; and hardly had word passed as to what should be done, when they (the Sevagies) charged with passionate fury in order to sweep the Mogols under their horses, and the field was filled with shouts and uproars and the soldiers were so confused that they fell upon one another with tumult and fury. When the Mogols imagined that they had caught them, the Sevagies divided themselves into four parties and fled each in a particular direction. In such a manner could they steal and manoeuvre that the Mogols were stupefied and, stumbling upon one another, they could not reach those they sought. After a few manoeuvres at a great distance the Sevagies turned to unite, in order that the Mogols should pursue them under the impression that they constituted the whole force (of Sevagy), for once afar, they would not be able to succour the baggage for which the two thousand hidden horse had been destined. This plan was nicely executed; for Sextaghan pursued them, thinking that was the whole army of Sevagy, which he wanted to destroy that very day. And when it seemed that the proper time had arrived, out came the two thousand and assaulted [57] the immense baggage, which was immediately invested to the great confusion of all.

The circumstances that largely contributed to this confusion were that the baggage was invested on both sides and that the sun had already gone down. The loss was very great. They (the Maratas) took thousands of loaded camels, many elephants, innumerable horses and everything that they could, killing all whom they met, while the other thousand removed the spoils. What they could not take was left on the ground, but they removed the beasts of burden. And in these, more than in anything else, the army suffered the greatest loss. The frustrated army then retired, as Neotagy had conveniently vanished in a moment. But when they arrived at the former place and saw the destruction the Maratas had wrought, they could not hold their surprise and sorrow. That night they went

without food in the inclement weather, for the servants did not appear and most of the tents had now passed into Sevagy's possession. Moreover, they passed (the night) arms in hand, for the very leaves that moved seemed to them to be Sevagy's men. Their conversation consisted of nothing but the evil omen [58] of such a bad beginning. They did not know how to speak too highly of the tricks of Sevagy, for this mode of pillage, said they, were unknown to them, and they concluded by saying that Sextaghan would put an end to this method. Soon the most pitiable sight presented itself: the camel drivers and other servants who had fled or escaped began to arrive, and all in the army uttered shouts of surprise, for some of them came without their arms, others crippled, others with head uncovered and all without their charge, which was the most important thing. That night, Sextaghan slept in a very small tent, for he had to get without his accustomed pomp; with the usual arrogance of a Mogol, he blasphemed and swore that Sevagy would have to pay for all these with interest, but in spite of so much arrogance he had to experience to his cost Sevagy's stratagem and cunning then and later.

On the following longed-for morning Sextaghan sent thirty thousand horse to traverse the whole field and gather the wrecks of the previous night. Both men and beasts excited pity and all were led [59] to the main army which through fear they had been prevented from joining the previous night. The day was spent in searching the field, healing the wounded and burying the dead, among whom was not found a single one of Sevagy's men—they were more familiar with the night when they delivered so many and so repeated assaults that offered Sextaghan much cause to fear. The army then set out for Puna in the field of which city, as we have already said, Sevagy had built a palace, and tanks and gardens. In the same palace, Sextaghan took up his residence, for everything was found as it was when Sevagy lived there. Another stratagem that Sevagy always had recourse to, and from which he derived no small gain, was based on the knowledge he had of the most secret entries and exits of the house, fashioned purposely for this enterprise, and things happened afterwards quite in accordance with the plans already made. All the districts of this province asked for Sevagy's counsel as to what they should do under

the circumstances. If he wanted them to defend themselves against the Mogols, they were ready, if not, they would wait upon his specific orders. He replied that all should take the *Cabul* [60] of Sextaghan until he ordered otherwise. So they did and remained secure from both sides. Here in this district, there is a large estate with an extensive jurisdiction, the lord of which is a Bracmane Genito, truly worthy of being mentioned here. This estate and jurisdiction of his were so privileged for Mouros, Genitos and all (other) castes that though there were many wars no soldier entered it except in peace. This is why this settlement became the general hospital of India. Whoever came there, whatever he might be, found food and shelter with liberty to stay as long as he liked, for this Bracmane said that there were some to whom God gave wealth to share with others. And he behaves as if his great revenue belonged entirely to the poor. And as this virtue and liberality are not now common to men, there are none in Industan who do not revere this Bracmane on this account; the armies that pass by this way, and they are not few, have for him such respect as if he were the only man in the world. And as there are in these parts castes who do not eat anything unless it is cooked and prepared by one of the same caste, he has cooks of all castes so that no one may excuse himself on this account, for he gives to each man what has been dressed by a person of his own caste. Moreover, he has got spies to prevent anybody from evading his hospitality. The first time Sévagy passed through this place, the Bracmane sent to his kitchen all that was necessary for ministering to the grandeur of his table, as Sévagy did not like to go to his house. As he did not excuse others, the Bracmane sent a message with those things, saying that he should slight nothing, for all men are poor and receive in this fashion what pertains to him, for God gave him his property to share with all. The name of the Bracmane was Ramagy, and God wanted to enlighten him with His pity so that so many deeds of charity might not be lost. Let us now turn to our subject. The General Sextaghan was receiving throughout that region people who submitted to him and he granted pardon to those who returned to the allegiance of their sovereign. And it seemed to him that he had [62] finished Sevagy thereby, but experience proved the contrary.

Sevagy sent from Punadar several parties of his men, whose sudden and short attacks always caused loss of horses, camels and oxen and many casualties, and even Sextaghan was surprised that Sevagy never suffered any loss; and this was due to the execution of the order, that they should never (permit themselves to) be caught but should do what they could without risk and, having done so, should immediately leave with all the booty, for Sevagy said that he prized the lives of his soldiers above all the interests of the world. They delivered an assault, robbed and killed whom they met, and by the time the Mogols were mounted, not a single enemy could be seen, and they stood stupefied listening only to the complaints of the wounded, robbed and despoiled.

Sextaghan tried to besiege great Punadar where Sevagy had retired, but there was such a slaughter and the besieged treated the Mogols with such derision that Sextaghan was convinced of the error [63] he had committed and at once retired to the very lodging he had left, contenting himself, as he passed through the country, with the destruction of some places that did not like to renounce their obedience to Sevagy at any cost; but he (Sextaghan) did not return from these enterprises as (gloriously) as he had set out, for he could not even distract Sevagy who had taken from the Mogol army double of what they had robbed in these places, for these places had all the necessities of life and the army of Sevagy always executed his orders well. Sextaghan informed the great Mogol of everything. He (the great Mogol) found that one year had passed and his army had fruitlessly suffered great loss in these parts, and he tried to strengthen his uncle with fresh reinforcement which he sent with the utmost expedition.

CHAPTER VII

THE GREAT MOGOL SENDS JASSOMPTISSINGA WITH ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND HORSES AND WHAT FOLLOWED HIS ARRIVAL

Jassomptissinga¹ set out from Dely, the second capital of the Mogol, and (when he) arrived [64] after an easy march, Sextaghan went to welcome him. When he related the past events to the new General, some of them caused his admiration and others made him laugh but all the while he praised the great astuteness of the adversary. Sevagy had information of the new reinforcement and fearing the might of the new enemy, tried the use of his cunning. Jassomptissinga was a Gentio. Sevagy took advantage of this (fact) for he was a (Hindu) and sent him one night a rich present of precious stones, a large quantity of gold and silver with many rich and precious jewels.² With these marvellous cannons Sevagy fought and reduced that fortress. The message was as follows: "Though Your Highness has the greatness of a Sovereign King and (now) also that of the General of so powerful an Emperor, if you recollect that I am a Gentio like you, and if you take account of what I have done, you will find that all I have done was due to the zeal for the honour and worship of your gods whose temples have been destroyed everywhere by the Mouros. If the cause of religion have precedence over all the goods of the world and even [65] over life itself, I have for the same cause risked mine so many times. Your Highness, I had to commit these excesses because I was so obliged to the gods who gave me above all such a high caste and race as that of the Rayas. After death they will transfer this soul to the body of a Bracmane or of a cow, as I expect of the gods for the work I have done in their service, in reward for which they have paid me with great treasures in this life which I would share with Your Highness if you kindly attend to my prayers and as a token of which

¹ Jaswant Singh, Raja of Marwar.

² Manucci also believed that there was a secret understanding between Shivaji and Jaswant, (See *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. II, p. 104.)

I offer you in the name of the gods themselves these trifles. I do not ignore that [a person of] your high caste has, for honour and loyalty, to defend those whose salt and water you eat and drink. I know moreover that you hold the *jaguir* of the Great Mogol and cannot, on that account, take the side of another, but you may so behave that you will not fail in the loyalty professed by your illustrious family (*sangue*) or in the respect due to your gods that I may mix with the people of Sextaghan, [66] to be able to do as I like (*para ser senhor das açoens*), and to do to him, without the knowledge of the Mouros, what I can."

Jassomptissinga was less devout and more ambitious and so did not attend to these scruples; he was much obliged for the presents and still more for the promises for which he confederated with Sevagy promising not to obstruct his cause and even to connive at what he might design against the Mouros. And for greater dissimulation he at once lodged in the quarter next to Sextaghan's to leave the rest of the field free for Sevagy's usual assaults. Neotagy was the first to set out under the darkness of night with eighty men only with him, all (of them went) on foot with swords and targets. He entered the lodging of Sextaghan which was in the very houses that Neotagy and Sevagy had built,^{2a} and posted behind the walls of these houses he began to effect a breach with hand pikes, a strong wind prevented the noise which would otherwise follow, for Sextaghan himself had slept in the house. The Sevagies had purposely selected a stormy night. [67] They were soon (afterwards) entering but the first two fell into a well of which they had no knowledge, for it had been opened by Sextaghan's order for the use of the women. They discovered, however, that the mouth (of the well) was narrow and some of them stretched themselves over it while others passed over their (body). They found themselves in the women's quarter where no man could enter. The women, seeing now so many men, made a loud noise in great confusion and the son of Sextaghan hurrying to their rescue was instantaneously killed. Then the wailing and shouts of the women increased very much, which roused Sextaghan, who, as he was arrogant by nature, entered through the door with a scymitar

^{2a} The quarter occupied by Shaista Khan was called Lall Mahal according to the Jedhe Chronology.

in hand without knowing who his guests were. Neotagy encountering him dealt a heavy blow at his head and while Sextaghan parried with the scymitar Neotagy drove his sword shell entirely cutting the thumb. Feeling himself then wounded, and disarmed, expecting no mercy he retreated among the women who with great artifice saved his life. They pushed him along saying, "we see [68] this washerman shows boldness knowing that this is the house of women!" This dissimulation saved his life, for Neotagy on this account gave up pursuing him. While he returned to seek Sextaghan in the house, the latter left the house and fled, convinced that the whole army of Sevagy had come upon him and he did not feel secure anywhere. Neotagy did not leave at once, finding himself in the house he sat on the very bed of Sextaghan. There he called the women and interrogated them in order to find out their master but they responded that he knew well how little freedom they had who could not go out of a house and he would find sufficient answer in that fact. In this manner they all said that Sextaghan was not there. Neotagy did not insist more, he knew that such was the fact but (he knew) not that these (women) had saved him. He, however, picked up the loveliest of them and judging her to be the greatest favourite he requested her to take betel and while she did so (Neotagy) remained standing before her. (Betel is a leaf very common in India, which the natives always eat [69] with lime and a fruit called areca, and, though the ingredients of lime and areca are as hard as bread and may seem to be unpleasant, the effect is not only good for health but is not displeasing to the taste) and she ate it slowly while his men collected all the precious things in the house. Having been informed that all were in good order, he left by the main gate where he met no guard or anybody to enquire who he was. Neotagy offered no insult to the women, for their sex is much venerated in Industan and they observe their customs better than the Europeans. These soldiers had special reason for this, as it was the order of Sevagy who, while he lived, was both obeyed and loved. And if anybody ever violated any of his orders the punishment was such that there was no second instance (of the offence). Hence it is clearly inferred that the real author of the losses and offences of a commonwealth is the ruler.

The noise in the house was followed by the tumult of the whole army, and mounting [70] their horses the officers awaited orders about what they should do. There was great confusion and din of innumerable instruments but greater was the noise they all made because none knew what to do. And the army was in this condition when Neotagy passed through its midst with his men. The Daquinini language differed very little from that of the Mogols, and all the Sevagies passed by conversing among themselves in the Mogol language, and they were thought to be Mogols supposed to have come to participate in an assault that was to be delivered at a certain place against Sevagy. In this fashion they left and went to the hills and the mountains whence they had started and Jassomptissinga laughed at the event and at all persons. With the light of the morning all doubts were removed. The Mogols found themselves mounted sleeplesly and fruitlessly tired. While in this state, they saw Sextaghan besmeared with blood, with his arm supported in a bandage and accompanied by the guards of his gate. No one knew the cause of the strange spectacle. Their surprise was great to find such a haughty man now carry his head so pale and humble. Without saying anything Sextaghan retired [71] to lament the death of a son whom he excessively loved and to nurse the wound. While passing the gate he had an unsupportable fainting fit and he fell unconscious on the earth. Hence he was carried in arms but no decent place could be found to lay him down; such was the state in which Sevagy's men had left the house. The news of this fainting fit reached the female quarters and thinking him to be dead, women raised such loud shrieks that roused and revived Sextaghan who bade them in a harsh and weak voice to be silent. Then all the officers of the army came to offer him their condolence for death and wound. Sextaghan did not know of whom to complain, about which each one gave his opinion. Then they agreed that Sevagy was the author of it all and some of them seizing their sword swore that they would exact satisfaction for such (great) impudence. Others, running their hands through their long beards, affirmed that Sevagy could not venture so far without Jassomptissinga's consent. But as Sevagy was a Genito (Jassomptissinga) would like to help him against the Mussalamans. [72] When these discourses and bravados were going

on a message came that the retinue of Jassomptissinga had arrived at the gate. Sextaghan lowered his eyes to conceal such vehement suspicions, others did the same and all got up to offer such a great personage the usual courtesies. He entered and pretending ignorance of the event, offered his condolence to Sextaghan with a smiling face and asked him what had happened. Sextaghan replied, placing his hand on the forehead as was the fashion, *Nacivo ghó-dághá*,³ that is to say : event that God had written on my forehead. They exchanged similar other courtesies, each thought that he had deceived the other. The Mouro disguised his feeling for his lost finger and the death of his son and the Genito (his disappointment) as the former had escaped and was not also dead. At last after a long conversation about the occurrence Jassomptissinga took leave and went to write to the Mogol, and Sextaghan immediately did the same, for their office imposed this obligation on both of them. Sextaghan said that [73] his loss was due to Jassomptissinga. But the great Mogol himself had not courage to manifest his feelings against these people. This nation is called Rayaputos and among them there are kings so powerful that they can bring to the field two hundred and three hundred thousand horse ; moreover, they are most valorous and all of them are so haughty that in order not to yield to one another they have all become subjects of the Mogol whom they serve and of whom they take *jaguir*, but on this condition that if he meddles with any of them all at once (should) unite, and thus they are in this manner more powerful than the Mogol, and during the interregnum he who is supported by them wins to such an extent that of the sons of the Great Mogol he who has the Rayas (are Kings) on his side is sure to secure the succession to the throne. These Genitos are famous for the many nobles (there are) among these people and the most powerful of them all was Jassomptissinga, of whom we speak, though he had received *jaguir* from the Mogol and was on that account his vassal. As such and his general, Jassomptissinga also now wrote to the Mogol giving information of the event and complaining of the conduct and (lack of) vigilance of Sextaghan that four men should [74] venture into such a (big) army and commit so much (injury and insult).

³ *Nasib Khudaka*—Fate as ordained by God.

CHAPTER VIII

HOW SEVAGY SACKED THE CITY OF SURRATE AND OF OTHER THINGS HE DID AT THIS TIME

Having reported the event to the Great Mogol, Sextaghan did not for many days treat of anything but his wound and the solemn funeral of his son. For this and other reasons Jassomptissinga was also quiet. But both of them thought that in view of two such powerful armies Sevagy would fortify himself storing provision in one of his hills, and for the moment fear would not permit him to do any thing else. None of them, however, knew that Sevagy was not merely very intrepid but tireless (as well) and he demonstrated it very soon. To show how little he cared for Sextaghan¹ and the army with which he sought him, Sevagy resolved to sack the great city of Surrate, the greatest emporium [75] of the Orient and the richest jewel of the Mogol, situated thirty-six leagues north of the place where the (two) armies lay. For this purpose he took eight thousand cavalry and thirty thousand infantry with him and with great secrecy he descended the great hills near the city by unknown roads above the gate. In this spacious area he did not meet with a shadow of resistance. Such were the fear and respect that all entertained for him that to invoke his name sufficed for the greatest difficulties. Much more was now experienced,² for he passed so quietly without interfering with anybody that people doubted whether he was Sevagy, but (the very thought that) he might be Sévagy was enough to prevent anybody from stirring. Some confused news of his intention reached Surrate but caused great laughter as [80] hundred and eighty thousand cavalry were encamped in the very territories of which Sevagy had become master. As he knew how to make assaults without any harm to himself, Sevagy had formed a plan so chimerical, that while attempting to ruin (Surrate), not only he, but all

¹ What little account he made of—*o pouco caso que de Sextaghan faria.*

² Ainda aqui se vio mais.

(who) were (with him) in that plot, might have been destroyed. For at the least warning the two armies [76] would secure the passes against him and he would be lost. But the Governor of the fortress^{2a} had not neglected to provide himself with munitions, food and other necessary things. The Dutch and the English did the same thing in their factories, for caution causes no loss. Moreover, it seems that they knew Sevagy better. Sevagy laid all doubts at rest with his presence. At the break of dawn he divided his men into four parties and ordered them to attack on all sides shouting his name (with the invocation of his name), which was the most formidable battery. He was not mistaken, for it was heard (with the same terror as is excited when) a furious tiger enters a herd of cows. The guards fled, the miserable inhabitants, who in their fear and surprise had roused themselves from bed (only) to throw themselves to the swords of the enemies, formed the first casualties. Sevagy had posted guards at all the exits of the city and so those who fled fell into their hands and became prisoners. There was such a confusion in the city among the Mouros, Baneanes,^{2b} Guzarates and all other [77] Hindus as will not be easy to describe. Men, women and children all ran naked without knowing where and to whom. But no one was in the peril of life, for it was the strict order of Sevagy that unless resistance was offered no one should be killed, and as none resisted none perished. Sevagy's men then entered the houses and slighting the richest silk and silver coins, took only rupias of gold, each of which was worth sixteen of silver. After robbing what they found they took the richest merchants in the presence of Sevagy before whom they prostrated themselves perspiring and trembling in such a manner that it was necessary for Sevagy himself to hearten them. He assured them that they would receive no injury if they spoke about the houses and their sites where they kept rupias of gold, which they at once told, not only about their own houses but they also pointed out all other places where gold coins could be found. Neither the quantity of money he got nor the speed with which it was conveyed by

^{2a} There were two Governors at Surat, one in charge of the town and the other in charge of the citadel.

^{2b} *Vāṇiṇya*, a Hindu trader or a man of the trading caste.

nine hundred bullocks is credible. He immediately gave signal for retreat without attempting anything [78] against the fortress, for his main object was nothing but to plunder the riches of the wealthiest city of the east to show Sextaghan and the Mogol how little he thought of their power and army. He did not look at the English and the Dutch factories.³ Content with the small quantity he took, he set out with the booty for his territories marching in good order and ascending again the gate, not where he had descended but near Galiana, arrived at Punadar without the two armies suspecting that he had gone out of the place. Entering the fortress he ordered the successful journey to be celebrated by shouts of voice and sounds of instruments, but neither these nor the continued salvo sufficed for Sextaghan and Jessomptissinga to surmise anything that night, until the mail of the Governor of Surrate arrived with letters for both in which he said that he felt greatly surprised that Sevagy should commit such damage in the richest port of his master and they were not all dead. It must be due not to their vigilance but to Sevagy's kindness who [79] did not like to kill anybody nor to leave so much as one rupia of gold at Surrate. The confusion of the two generals and the fun that the (two) armies made of them cannot be believed. On the top of these came the letter of the Great Mogol who was informed of all that had happened by the Governor of Surrate and he felt the loss with such extreme anger (as both of them were grantees) that he wrote to the Generals, saying with what sorrow he had received so humiliating a news, as if he had not strength enough in the Decan to reduce the pride of a Hindu of so little consequence, and he wrote to Sextaghan privately that he held a different opinion about him but that incident had caused the loss of his reputation and honour not only with him but with all *Umbraos* of his court. Both the Generals hastened to excuse themselves. One, with the lack of vigilance and command of Sextaghan to whom in more reasons belonged the duty of watching Sevagy's intentions, for Jassomptissinga had not

³ Guarda is substantially correct, for only desultory attempts were made against the English factory by stray hands of Marathas. It does not appear that Shivaji contemplated any serious attack against European merchants.

come to do that (he came) only to fight while he could and [80] Sextaghan threw the whole blame on the other accusing him of being confederated with Sevagy. The great Mogol dissimulated for reasons that will be pointed out.

CHAPTER IX

THE GREAT MOGOL SENDS A STRONGER FORCE AGAINST SEVAGY

The Governor of Surrate reported the above-mentioned incident to the Great Mogol in such a manner that when it was read and heard it seemed worse than it (actually) was. As the advantage, the Great Mogol derived from Surrate, was enormous, and the Governor had informed him that all was lost and the merchants were arranging for a change of place on account of the scant security of Surrate, he resolved to remedy everything by sending an army that would totally destroy Sevagy and detain the merchants. He ordered that they should be excused duties for three years during which period nothing should be paid for import or export. This appeased and relieved all, for it was a very great favour, [81] in view of the large capital employed by those Genitos in trade. The wealth of these people is so great that when the Great Mogol sent for a loan of four millions to Baneane Duracandás Voráx, he answered that His Majesty should name the coin, and the sum would immediately be paid in it. There are in Surrate the following coins: rupias, half and quarter (rupias) of gold, the same of silver. There are pagodes of gold and *larins*¹ of silver and in any of these eight (coins) he offered to render four millions. What is still more surprising is that the major part of the Baneane's capital was (invested) at Surrate and this (offer) was

¹ "Persian *lāri*. A peculiar kind of money formerly in use on the Persian Gulf, West Coast of India, and in the Maldivé Islands, in which last it survived to the last century." Ralph Fitch wrote in 1587; "The said Larine is a strange piece of money, not being round, as all other current money in Christianitie, but is a small rod of silver, of the greatness of the pen of a goose feather . . . which is wrested so that two endes meet at the just half part, and in the head thereof is a stamp *Turkesco*, and these be the best current money in all the Indias, and six of these Larines maké a duckat." In 1525, a Lari, was worth sixty reis in the currency of Portuguese India—(*Lembrança das Cousas da Índia*). Ceasar Frederike says that in 1563, eight Larins were equal to ten shillings. (*Hobson Jobson*, p. 506.)

(made) four years after the sack by Sevagy. So much had already been accumulated and so considerable had been the profit of those three years when no tax was paid. The Mogol usually repays such loans with the taxes, and it is done with such punctuality that he gets for the mere asking^{1a} whatever sums he wants, for the subjects deliver their purses in accordance with the degree of satisfaction that they get from the kings. As for an army to reduce Sevagy, the Great Mogol ordered the retreat of the 180 thousand cavalry, as the two Generals excused themselves at each other's (expense) [82]—Sextaghan, with his eighty and Jassomptissinga, with his hundred, were to return to the Court by different routes to avoid their mutual differences. And for sending a person who would redeem his credit and repair the weakness and troubles of the past, he selected another King of the Rayaputos. He was also so powerful that from his own territories he could put into the field two hundred and fifty thousand cavalry. Nevertheless, for reasons already stated, he held from the Mogol a *jaguir* for seven thousand horse with which he was obliged to serve him. He was, moreover, the owner of that famous elephant, called the Conqueror of Battles (*vencedor das batalhas*),² for it defeated the valiant elephant of Daráxacur,³ the eldest brother of the present Great Mogol, to whom that battle gave the Crown and the Elephant gave the victory (that battle gave him the Crown and this Elephant won the victory for him). As this King was a great friend of his, he had on that occasion helped him with his person and with the above-mentioned elephant. This new royal General was called Maghá Mirçá Rayá Jossinga,⁴ but to save paper, we shall always call him by the name of [83] Rayá. He immediately set out, furnished with four hundred thousand cavalry. On his arrival at Amadabad,⁵ he sent to the two Gene-

^{1a} Literally—"As soon as he opens his mouth arrive whatever sums he wants."

² Probably "*Fate Jang*."

³ Dârâ Shukoh.

⁴ Mirza Raja Jai Singh played a prominent part in the war of succession, but he was not present at Samugarh.

⁵ Ahmadabad; in the north latitude 23°1', and east longitude 72°37', is a big and prosperous town on the left bank of the *Sâbarmati*. It was originally called *Asâval*. "In 1411 Sultan Ahmad I chose it as his capital and named it Ahmadabad."

als the letters, he had brought from the Mogol, for their return to the court, and as soon as he learnt of their departure he moved forward to encamp at Punadar where Sevagy had sheltered himself. When he arrived there, even Sevagy could not help being frightened, for besides the four hundred thousand cavalry, the number of men and animals, that followed these armies, could neither be credited nor ascertained. There went with it five hundred elephants, three millions camels, ten millions oxen of burden, men of useless service and merchants without number. The first thing that Sevagy did was to tempt this General in the same way as he had done in the case of the other. He sent him a large and very valuable present desiring his friendship. The Rayá refused both and ordered to inform Sevagy that he had not come to receive his presents but to subdue him, and for (his own) good he asked him to yield and avoid many deaths, or he would make him yield by force. This resolution [84] perturbed Sevagy, for the General had not begun well for him, as the General soon showed him, for he immediately sent many men to occupy the whole of the northern slope of the hill, as it was the only convenient part, the rest being inaccessible. Here they dug their trenches with a view to stay in, for the peril outside was great; with much toil they dug one trench after another towards the hill until through a number of them they arrived at the foot of the hill which rose straight above and where there was no room for trenches. There they stopped and informed the Rayá how it was impossible to move forward. He had brought with him a French engineer, who assumed in these regions the title of the *Coque of the Dutch*.⁶ On this occasion the General ordered him to devise some subtle contrivance by his art. He directed that some strong and big bamboo ladders should be made. These ladders should be fixed at that place and chained with one another. At the place where they would reach (by their means), they should dig and make an opening big enough for depositing a large quantity of powder, for he wanted by means of that mine [85] to blow the mountain. But Sevagy did not wait for that eventuality and had already ordered to countermine, and

⁶ Coque means a back hand slap or blow, hence the meaning of the title was somewhat like the "Hammer of the Dutch".

when the mine was discovered, in order to avoid the delay of removing such a quantity of powder, he threw so much water into it that it was reduced to wet coal. The Rayá had been already invited to see the explosion of the hill, but the occurrence, expected by them, became (a subject of) laughter and ridicule of the besieged.

They spoke of batteries, for which the Rayá had brought with him a large number of heavy artillery of such a calibre that each cannon was drawn by forty yokes of oxen, but they were of no use for bombarding a fortress of this kind; for it was not a handiwork of men, but of the author of nature (God), and (because) it also had foundations so (strongly) laid and fortified that they laughed at balls, wind and even the thunder bolts. The plain at the top, where the men communed with the stars, was more than half a league in breadth, provided with food for many years and the most copious water that, after regaling men, was precipitated through the hill to fertilise the plants with which it was [86] covered. Therefore, neither the besieged apprehended nor the besiegers expected that with all these advantages Sevagy would do something still more daring than self defence demanded. The following chapter will relate everything.

CHAPTER X

SEVAGY SURRENDERS, AND WHAT HAPPENS AFTERWARDS

The King Idalcao was a feudatory of the Great Mogol and paid him annually two millions *Tipiquin Pagodes*, each of which was worth three rupias, being much smaller than that of Golconda, which was worth five rupias. Besides this large tribute, the King was obliged to help the army, which the Mogol might send to the Decan, with ten thousand horse at his own cost to serve under the command of the Mogol general. In fact the King had assisted Sextaghan with the stipulated cavalry and was now (likewise) rendering assistance to the Rayá. Before the arrival of this army against Sevagy, the King, however, had come to a settlement [87] that he would pay him thirty thousand Pagodes every year as contribution to expenses, in return for which, Sevagy was to remain contented with what he had conquered from his kingdom, and was not to disturb his state, but wage war against the Great Mogol only. Sevagy strictly observed these terms, for he was noted for his adherence to treaties. But as soon as Idalcao found the Mogol armies (in the Decan) he not only helped them with all promptitude but did not pay Sevagy anything. When two years passed without any payment, Sevagy surmised (what was) the reason, and regarded this conduct so seriously that he resolved to avenge it at any cost. He argued that as the Rayá never yielded to self-interest he could not but be very pious, and that so long as he did not have him (Sevagy) under his power the Rayá would not cease to give him considerable trouble. This consideration and the impulses of revenge led him to do what might have cost him dear. He went to surrender himself unconditionally to the generous courtesy of the Rayá, without any other inducement except that of the blind confidence caused by valour [88] which was free from ambition, and [he presumed] that his voluntary surrender would surely continue to be an argument in his favour with any generous heart. To execute his plan he set out from his famous hill of Punadar at six in the morning

with one servant only, they were both without any arms. In this manner he entered the encampment, and as everything was in the same order, he passed through it without being observed by anyone. Then he arrived at the quarters of the Rayá, always distinguished by the large standard, and told the porter that he wanted to speak to his master.

"Who should I say seeks him?"

"Say that Sevagy wants to see him."

The porter, besides himself with terror, gave four jumps backwards that roused the other guards; Sevagy himself gave him his hand and heartened him, saying that he should not be afraid, for he came in peace and so sought his master. At last, still trembling, and without knowing what he said, he gave the message to his master in such a way that he too was frightened and seizing a scymitar, got up and went out to shelter himself, but being assured of what it was, returned to sit down and calmed himself. Then he gave his orders for Sevagy to enter. While this happened the porters went [89] in and out. Sevagy took off the sash that encircled his waist and ordered his servant to fasten his hands with it, and in this manner entered the presence of the Rayá and the guards who attended on him. The Rayá was doubtful of what he saw, doubtful whether it was really Sevagy who was there, but being assured of the truth by Sevagy himself, remained silent and absorbed, not knowing what to do under the circumstances, but he soon came to a decision as to what such confidence deserved, got up, unfastened his hands in person and, with remarkable affability addressing him as his son, took him by his hands and seated him by his side with all possible demonstrations of great affection. They immediately entered into a conversation, and the first exchanges of courtesies being over, Sevagy spoke as follows.

"Great and powerful Rayá, the knowledge of your singular generosity and your high lineage led me to decide that such should also be my action; I wanted that it should be said to your glory that at your feet came Sevagy, to surrender himself voluntarily, impelled by your greatness and nothing else. For this I expect [90] to profit by the opinion I formed of you, so that posterity may have nothing to find fault with, either your graciousness or my resolution." The Rayá responded,

throwing his arms about Sevagy's neck: "Thus far am I from ignoring the confidence you have in my courage (or heart); that henceforth I assure you and promise not to fail you in any proposal that you may make and so may go on naming them. I only beg you to attend to the common interest (of the two parties), for you know the obligation this office imposes on me."

To which Sevagy [replied] interrupting that he had nothing more to propose except begging (the Rayá's) confidence in his fidelity and amity between them two, (and hoped) nothing would happen to justify any failure in that respect on the part of any of them. For greater security he desired that both of them should swear by Rama¹ and other gods that they should always be friends. As for proposals in regard to the common interest, he offered to deliver immediately to the Great Mogol twenty fortresses he had captured from him, and further to render himself his vassal and accept his *jaguir* as he might be pleased to grant. This the Rayá could not promise, but said [91] that he would intercede to instal Sevagy in the favour and employment of the Mogol. The Rayá desired to be more sure of the fidelity of Sevagy and demanded hostages for what he had promised. Sevagy at once sent his servant, who was there, with a letter to his son that he should immediately come to the camp. The Rayá sent a number of horse men with the letter to escort him. The next morning he arrived, accompanied by a large cavalry and infantry. Sevagy delivered him to the Rayá, and to please him more, advised his son to address him as grandfather. After delivering his son, Sevagy begged leave to return to fulfil his promise. The Rayá gave him the permission, and sent with him those to whom the fortresses were to be delivered in the name of the Great Mogol. Sevagy left with them and those who had accompanied his son. He at once delivered the twenty fortresses among which were included the two Puna-dars, so esteemed by Sevagy, and the Rayá ordered them all to be immediately garrisoned and fortified. This done, Sevagy sought his uncle Neotagy without whose advice he did nothing. Having issued orders in respect of the [92] fortresses and the territories that still remained to him, they both went to see the Rayá with such a retinue and treasure that caused the admira-

¹ The hero of the *Ramayana* and an incarnation of Vishnu.

tion of the Rayá and the other captains of the Great Mogol. The Rayá received them with marked pleasure and ordered them to lodge in the army. Everyday, in the morning and in the evening, Sevagy used to visit the Rayá and they always spent hours together in private. This roused the suspicion of the Mouro cavaliers of the army who were ignorant of the matter about which they spent so much time. If the Rayá had not been so great a lord and so mighty in territories and vassals they might have suspected some conspiracy, but they soon learnt the substance of the secrets from their effect. All took the road and the army turned to destroy Idalcao. This was the obsession of Sevagy and this forced upon him so blind a resolution that might have cost him his life and state. Sevagy pressed this strongly upon the Rayá, who raised many objections, one, and a very strong one, being the assistance that the King had rendered to the Mogol armies with his ten thousand horse [93] for so many years, and that he was actually still employed in the service. It was a strong reason, but as Sevagy wanted to ruin him on that very ground, he lost his patience to hear it, and pressed the Rayá with the following representations: the Great Mogol had sent so great a man, [as the Rayá] and as Sevagy had surrendered at the mere echo of his fame, his valour had not been manifested, he should not lose the opportunity of conquering at one blow and thereby immortalise his name. In short, he told him such things and the Rayá was so much elated with the prospect of fame, that would result from the double victory, that he was inclined to countenance the plan against the dictates of reason, more so, because he had no doubt about its success, the matter being so easy that nothing seemed wanting and everything possible for the mere wishing. The resolution having been taken, the Rayá summoned to the Council all the *Umbraos* of the army and communicated to them his purpose, and the reasons which prompted him to that course, and which would facilitate the enterprise, according to what Sevagy had told him. Some of them objected to the proposal and that with strong reasons, but as soon as a powerful and valiant *Umbrao* [94], with whom the Rayá had contracted fraternity (*feito irmandade*), voted strongly in its favour all the rest changed; they not only did not oppose, but besides according their approval, offered every help (such is the world everywhere).

The Rayá was pleased with the opinion of the entire Council and sent for the commander of ten thousand horse whom the King (Idalcao), having returned to his capital, had left in his place. He told the captain with great suavity that as Sevagy had been subdued his residence in the army was excused, and that he (the commander) might retire and go to the Court of his king whom he should inform to expect him (the Rayá), for he was resolved to see him soon at his capital of Vizapur. The commander wanted to know the reason of so sudden a change, asserting that his king had never failed (in his duty) and always acted as the most loyal vassal of the Great Mogol. The Rayá replied that such indeed was the fact, and what he said was all true, but he remembered having many years ago left his *trunfa* (turban) at Vizapur, which never returned to his hand, and that now that he was so near the place [95] he felt a desire to see it, for in any case he wanted to go to seek it. With these words he dismissed the commander who immediately left with his men to inform his king of what had happened.

CHAPTER XI

THE ARMY WAS PREPARED TO SET OUT AGAINST VIZAPUR

After the departure of the commander the Rayá gave the order to march, which is made in the following manner; the General takes a large and broad sheet of paper and writes his name in the middle of it. Then all the *Umbraos*, who are Captains of the army, go on writing their names around it, always leaving the General's name in the centre. His Secretary immediately makes another copy similar to it and transmit it to the nearest *Umbrao*, who makes a copy for himself and transmits the copy that had been sent to him to his neighbour, who does the same, and in this manner it runs through all till it returns to the very hand of the Secretary himself, showing that all have been informed [96] and have got copies. Afterwards in the order of march as well as in fixing quarters each one takes the place that the paper shows without any other change or without any contingency to excuse. Each one of these *Umbraos* carries his banner, as in a squadron of ships, and each one has a very high mast which is invariably carried on the back of a number of men during the march. On the arrival at the place of encampment they wait till the General hoists his banner, and immediately afterwards each one raises his standard in the same order as in the paper, and by these banners their quarters are easily recognised, so to visit a Captain nothing more is required but to look for his banner and find him. They follow the *Mirmanzel* in the march and do not go one step without him. He is always obliged to encamp near a big river, for the ordinary ones do not suffice for the numerous mouths of which the army is composed. He always takes with him three men of equal stature, to whom he gives a cord that has a ring at each end and the cord has the length of a [97] geometrical pace, (a measure of five feet). These men are placed in a line one after another, and the first and the last carry the rings of the cord on their shoulder, while the other goes between them with the cord on his shoulder. The first carries a sharp pointed three

pronged fork (*forquilha com hum bom ferrao*), the second a rosary of stringed balls, and the third goes always looking at the ground, but all three carry the cord stiff. When marching, the first man makes a stroke near his foot on the ground crossed and goes on, and as soon as the last man sees the mark he shouts "*cousse*", which signifies a pace, and immediately the man in the middle lets fall a ball, the first at once makes another stroke, and the third arriving at the place shouts anew, and the second throws another ball, and they go on like this till the army encamps. When they arrive there the balls are counted (and it is found out that) so many paces the army has marched.¹ Thirty thousand of paces make a league and in this manner they do not walk without counting. When the counting is over, the *Mirmanzel* goes to report to the General, and according to the greater or lesser length they have marched the *Mirmanzel* asks for, or refrains from asking, rest for the army. In short, [98] if they observed the same order in battle as in everything else they would have been now the lords of the whole world. If an army is engaged in a campaign for twenty years, and a stranger enters it once in the first year and again in the last year, he will go through it in the same way and feel sure that it is the same (army he saw twenty years ago), for as they never change (the order of assigned places), the display of banner is enough at the first entry for going through it without any error, which is not easy in the armies of Europe, and the risk of error seems to be greater in one of their companies. We have viewed the march, let us pass to the events. The army had already marched for sixteen days towards the capital of Vizapur, and the further it penetrated into the territories of that King the greater became the difficulties of transporting provision and much more that of forage. The Rayá left at all the stations (places) several companies to defend

¹ Manucci gives the following account of the process: "Other men on foot march with a rope to measure the road, as follows. They begin at the royal tent when the king starts. The first man, who holds the rope in his hand, makes a mark in the ground, and when the man behind comes up to it, he calls out, "one". Then the other man makes another mark and counts two: and thus they continue for the whole march, counting "three", "four" and so on, the other peon also keeping count. Should the king ask how far he has gone, they calculate the number of ropes making up a league, and answer accordingly." (Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 216.)

those who supplied everything to the army. These men have no other trade or pursuit than buying thousands of bullocks for this service in which they earn great wealth. These are called *Vanyares*² [99], that is to say, men without any country, for their mothers conceive them on the road, bring them forth on the road, and bring them up on the road. When they happen to travel for the lands of the enemies (for hostile territories), ten or twelve thousand of them join together and have with them four, five or six millions of bullocks. They are all very skilled with bow and arrow and also with matchlocks. They resist their adversaries with great valour if they are attacked. After a few days' march, thirty thousand horse of the King of Vizapur appeared in the rear of the army not only to desolate the field but also to waylay the *Vanyares*, of whom they encountered eight thousand accompanied by fifteen hundred Mogols, whom the Rayá had left for that purpose. They were at once assaulted, and a most terrible battle was fought, which

² *Banjārā* or *Brinjārā*, also spelt in various other ways, "The supplies of grain were brought in on the backs of bullocks by the wandering dealers known as *Banjārahs* or *Brinjārahs*. There are two derivations alleged for this word, (1) H. *baniḥ*, trade, plus the affix *ārah*, denoting a doer or agent (Steingass, 201), and (2) P. *birinj*, rice, *ār*, *ārā*, the root of *āwardan*, to bring (Steingass, 170). Fitzclarence, 93, says 'It is by these people that the Indian armies in the field are fed, and they are never injured by either army. The grain is taken from them, but invariably paid for. They encamp for safety every evening in a regular square formed of the bags of grain, of which they construct a breastwork. They and their families are in the centre and the oxen are made fast outside. Guards with matchlocks and spears are placed at the corners, and their dogs do duty as advanced posts.'" (Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 192. Also see Sen, *Military System of the Marathas*, pp. 153-54.)

"We passed a large encampment of "Bringarees" or carriers of grain, a singular wandering race, who pass their whole time in transporting this article from one part of the country to another, seldom on their own account, but as agents for more wealthy dealers. They move about in large bodies with their wives, children, dogs, and loaded bullocks. The men are all armed as a protection against petty thieves. From the sovereigns and armies of Hindostan they have no apprehensions. Even contending armies allow them to pass and repass safely, never taking their goods without purchase, or even preventing them if they choose from victualling their enemy's camp." (Heber, *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India*, Vol. II, 444.)

lasted from the morning till four in the evening, but the Daquinis of Vizapur, good soldiers as they were, finished the battle by killing all the Mogols and a great many of the *Vanyares*, and left the rest, to follow two thousand of the *Vanyares*, who had taken advantage of the battle, and leading three millions of bullocks, had gone [100] at a great speed to take shelter with the army, which, however, they could not overtake. The Rayá felt this loss very much, and the Idalcao felt so highly pleased that he conceded all the spoil, that was great, to his soldiers to encourage them for more and for the cruel war that such a small number waged against an army so vast. They (the Bijapuris) now appeared in the van of the army without any order, and the Mogols also immediately closed with them at full gallop, without any order, and as the land was dry, such an amount of dust was raised that the sun could not be seen. The Daquinis had expected this, and divided in three parties, attacked the army in three places, and caused great loss while the dust and confusion lasted, and when it became clear, and the Mogols recovered themselves, the Daquinis were no longer to be found, at least, not in the same place and form as previously. The Mogols grew mad with anger, and furiously turned to assault, and the Daquinis always played the same trick and their fun, therefore, was great, and the loss they inflicted on the army was very heavy. None should be surprised at the celerity of these [101] Daquinis, for they are accustomed to carry no more baggage than their arms, which consist of lances, bow, arrow, long and broad swords, with some bread, and gram for their horses in the saddle bag, for water and straw are abundantly found in the field. In this fashion they always go unencumbered, they sleep on the ground upon the earth, and taking the bridle of the horses, and loosening the reins, fasten them with their halters to their own wrists. They cover themselves with a cloth that serves as dress, mattress and wrapper; they live in this manner and are, therefore, so quick and skilful that cause admiration, and all these are quite contrary to (what is found among) the Mogols, for he who does not have with him at least a loaded camel feels very unhappy, so that what is necessary to equip a Mogol soldier is sufficient for an army of the light Daquinis. Let us turn to the Mogol army. They marched with great fear, for the Daquinis made at all

hours and in every place false and real assaults. The Nabobo, who commands the vanguard, informs the General of everything that happens, and this is done in the following manner: [102] He takes with him, for this purpose of information, many men, all of whom have their dromedaries, these are camels but of such a speed that they seem more to fly than to run. When a message is given, a man mounts his dromedary and rides to the General, who is found in the middle of the army among fifty thousand horse that he has for his guards. He is mounted on a big elephant of war, with other elephants of war in a circle around him. Outside these, are the elephants of state with standards mounted on shafts, held securely by many men, seated on those very elephants. The messenger comes to the elephant of the General, and the courier makes the dromedary sit on the earth, and dismounting delivers the message after making his courtesies; after hearing the message and repeating the courtesies, he turns to the dromedary, still waiting on its haunches on the ground, and returns in a moment to the presence of the Nabobo. To such an extent had the Daquinis lost the fear of the Mogols that they often got themselves mixed with the Mogol army itself, till they found an opportunity of committing some injury. And as soon as [103] the Mogols gave any opportunity, either for exit or disorder, all immediately quitted, the first to retire were those of the highest rank and the horses, for they were recognised by these (horses); such was the confusion in these armies caused by innumerable multitude, and such was the address of the Daquinis owing to their incredible lightness. All this was facilitated by dress and language which were the same or almost so (differed in nothing). With these troubles and some other misfortunes the Mogol army marched till they reached near Vizapur, where the Rayá had many spies who informed him of everything. The king considered himself lost, and after long consultations with his nobles about the means of evading his ruin, decided on a method, that would be ridiculed in Europe, but proved efficacious and useful to him, on account of the superstitions of these oriental barbarians.

CHAPTER XII

THE MOGOL ARMY RETURNS WITH GREAT HASTE

[104] Everybody knows that pork is prohibited for the Mouros. This (rule) is observed among them and they eat neither pork nor anything that is contaminated by it. The Gentios practise the same rule about the meat of cows to a greater excess. Not to kill a cow is the third of the five precepts they observe, the first and the second being not to kill the Brahmans (they are their Padres) and the women, which is equally atrocious. This belief formed the remedy of the King of Vizapur, who issued an order to the three settlements, situated near his capital at a distance of not more than half a league, called Abdulapur, Corapulur, Nacerapur, each one having a population of twenty-five thousand, or so. He ordered them all to go away with their belongings to any place that seemed most suitable to them. When all the people were gone, he ordered to throw into all the wells, lakes, cisterns and other reservoirs of water [105] a quantity of pork and beef cut into pieces. The Rayá got immediate information of this through his spies, and as there was no more water in that country, and the great majority of the army were Gentios and the rest (consisted of) the Mouros, they were all so perturbed that the army immediately turned back in such a hurry that on that day they made two days' march. In this retreat the army suffered troubles enough from the sudden assaults made everywhere by the Daquinis and from the excesses of hunger, for the transport of food was impeded. It was a strange thing that surprise attacks could be made on such a powerful army in a country where there was nothing but open fields as far as could be seen ; yet these attacks were made every moment, for the innumerable multitude of animals that followed these armies raised so great, so continuous and such a dreadful (storm of) dust that whole days passed without the sun being seen, and on this account assaults were made by day as if it were night. When the army was very near the territories of the Great Mogol, one morning, the Daquinis made such a ferocious assault on it [106] with their thirty thousand

horse, that the quarter attacked by them was broken, the commander (of that quarter) was killed with many soldiers, and they penetrated to the middle of the battle-field as far as the station where the Rayá commanded, as we have already said, with a guard of fifty thousand horse and, as he looked from his elephant, they engaged in a terrible battle which lasted for two hours in which were killed two thousand Daquinis and ten thousand Mogols, though the latter being in the presence of their general fought with the utmost valour. A Daquini came face to face with the Rayá and was about to hurl a lance at him. At that instant the Rayaputos hurried to his rescue and saved his life that was in no little danger. A Rayaputo immediately engaged with the daring Daquini, hurled at him a *Barchim*,¹ that is, a lance to be thrown, (*lance de aremeso*) which penetrated his heart, and he fell dead but the Rayaputo could not boast of his blow for the comrades (of the slain man) surrounded him in such a manner that though Maha Ragam Reptissing, a son of the General, set out with a large part of the army to his rescue, the Daquinis [107] killed him in spite of them all and hurled a lance at the General's son that passed through fourfolds of the suit that he wore round his waist, pierced the dress which was quilted with cotton to the thickness of two fingers, and the steel point entered, though slightly, into his belly, from this could be inferred not only the quality of the arms (that looked like silver in their bright steel and like lancets in sharpness) but the force with which they were hurled. The whole army ran to his rescue with so much noise that the Daquinis, satisfied with their work, dispersed and were gone without being pursued by anybody, for each one ran to his own post fearing lest it should be attacked by the Daquinis. Such was the fear that all had of their daring and incredible speed. The Rayá was frightened by the boldness and agility of his adversaries and grieved for the death of the Rayaputos, specially of those who saved his life, because he did not think

¹ *Barchhah*, *Barchha* or *Barchhi*, a heavy spear. "Its distinctive feature is its being made wholly of iron or steel, shaft as well as head. See also Egerton's description, p. 123, note preceding No. 574, of two specimens in the Codrington collection. This heavy spear could hardly have been wielded by a man on horse-back, and was no doubt confined to the infantry." (Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 83.)

much of the rest. So he ordered a halt to give them a funeral according to their custom which was to burn them in a big fire, and the bigger the fire, [108] the more solemn was the funeral. Therefore, the relations and friends of the deceased showed their affection by sending a large quantity of wood for his fire (funeral), he who sent more wood loved more and living persons felt greatly satisfied for having contributed to such a pious act. The grave Mouros buried their dead putting a pile of stone on the grave, and the bigger the pile, the more distinguished and greater was the man who lay there. These were built in the fields and these eminences of stone corresponded to the high and sublime mausoleum built by those who ended their life at home.

The army at last arrived at Sulapur,² the first fortress of the Mogol in these regions, and there ended the scarcity and the frequent and numerous deaths from which it had suffered during the march, for few were the days on which eight hundred and more casualties did not occur, as the Daquinis had poisoned the water in that area. Those (alone) who had ordered their water to be boiled well, and drank boiled water, escaped safely.

² Chief town of the district of that name, north lat. 17°40' east longitude 75°46'.

CHAPTER XIII

THE MISERABLE STORY AND SURPRISING DISGRACE OF AN APOSTATE AT SULAPUR

As we find ourselves at Sulapur, it will be well to relate what happened there to an apostate and though the case deserves silence rather than narration, I shall very briefly tell it, as it is manifested thereby that our weakness and wickedness arise from our forsaking God. A clergyman of a certain religion disguised in secular clothes acted as Constable at Sulapur. The Indians imagine with strange persistency that all Europeans are artillerymen but greater is the deception practised by the Europeans who take advantage of this foolishness, for, when they want to fly either for crimes or for license, they pass to their country under this name (as an artilleryman) and get enough for their subsistence. There are many artillerymen of different nationalities in this fortress and this man commanded them with the title of Constable. Now that it is known, [110] it is necessary to take note of another thing for the comprehension of this case. In these lands of the Mouros there is an inviolable law or custom that if any offence is committed against one who is not a Mouro, be he a Christian, Gentio or Jew, etc., if he wants to be avenged he has to become a Mouro. When he declares himself as such, justice at once grants satisfaction to the aggrieved according to the nature of the offence. The same is the case if he has debts and does not want to pay, for when he becomes a Mouro he owes nothing (to anybody), nor can the creditor say anything about it. All these are known. This fortress was commanded by an Abyssinian, the Ethiopians of Prester John are so styled, and for their valour and fidelity they are much esteemed in these regions and called Sedy Saibo, that is to say, Lord Abyssinian (*Senhor Abexim*). This Governor was one day in his place of audience when among other suitors appeared this unlucky man who, after making his *salam*¹ to the Governor

¹ "A salutation ; properly oral salutation of Mahomedans to each

in the Moorish fashion, told him that he had a word to tell him in private. The Governor asked him to wait till the end of the audience. So he was on his legs for three hours while all [111] the Mouros were seated. When all were gone the Governor asked him what he wanted. He replied that Mafoma² had appeared before him in the previous night and told him that he should turn a Mouro if he wanted to save himself. This he said with great humility and with hands crossed on his chest and begged to be admitted into so holy a faith. The Governor looked at him and said, "Art not thou a clergyman of Christians?"

"Yes sir," he replied.

"If thou sayst thou art," returned the Governor, "what motive hast thou for giving up the faith in which thou hast been brought up, and embracing the religion of the Mouros? If anybody has offended thee, tell me, and I shall avenge thee in what manner thou likest, and if thou owest anything to anybody, declare it, for I promise to pay it for thee, however high the sum may have grown."

Then the apostate swore that none had offended him and he owed nothing to anybody but he wanted to be a Mouro to save himself, for Mafoma had so directed him. The astonished Governor directed him to go home and speak about it another day, for in the interval God might enlighten him. The apostate replied that he would [112] not give up his intention, and after many days he gave no other reply than that he was resolved to obey the behest of Mafoma. The Governor was constrained by such a resolute reply and calling a servant ordered him to bring the *Boxa*³ (it is a strong and square piece of cloth with a large ribbon at its end; in it they put the most cherished goods and fasten it in such a manner that it becomes a well-made and secure packet) which he ordered to be unfastened and then sent away the servant. He himself then drew from it a bag, two palms in length (it was of dyed cloth), he drew out of it another bag of brocade and opening it he drew a beautifully worked and perfect crucifix and after gazing at it and kissing it showed it to the apostate and asked him whether he knew

other. Arab *salām* 'peace'. Used for any act of salutation." (*Hobson Jobson*, p. 783.)

² Probably Muhammad, the Prophet.

³ Persian *buchqa*.

that Lord. He replied (placing his right hand on the top of his head which is the salute among the Mouros); *Azaret Ina is que Nixanahest*,⁴ that is to say, it is the image of Holy Jesus; and then the Governor said to the wretch in anger: "Dost thou want to forsake the Lord who created thee and after much suffering [113] redeemed thee on the cross to follow the falsehoods of Mafoma? Art thou mad? Forsakest thou light to go to grope in darkness? The heaven for hell? Is it possible that thou who hast the high dignity of a clergyman (*sacerdote*) hast a heart so mean that thou wantst to pass from a Minister of God to be the executioner of the Devil? I believe thou hast undoubtedly that enemy in the body, for otherwise it would not have been possible. Well then, don't be a Mouro and I promise to favour thee so long as thou livest and when I give up this command, thou knowest well that I am a commander of three thousand horse and have abundance of money to spend, I promise to take thee as my partner and I shall do all these and more for thee if thou payest me by hearing my confession when I want." The Governor said all these with his eyes bathed in tears and the apostate listened with dry eyes without saying a word, so that the Governor imagined that he had converted him and asked him with tenderness, "What dost thou say my Padre?"

"There is [114] much reason in what you say," replied the apostate, "but it makes no impression on me (*mas nada comigo tem lugar*), for I am resolved to be a Mouro, I shall not trouble you as I had the good luck to see Mafoma and I am inclined to obey him." The Governor became very furious and called him a Naçarene,⁵ that is to say, a renegade, and other abusive

⁴ *Hazrat 'Isa ki nishan ast*, 'It is to be noted that the renegade priest speaks Persian.

⁵ 'Nazarenes' an early Christian sect "ranked like the Ebionites and along with them, as heretics by later Fathers like Epiphanius (xviii) and some Latin writers and the work known as *Predestinatus*." (Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. III, pp. 514-575). This was the name by which the Christians were known among the Jews and the Muhammadans, but it could not have been used in that sense in the text above. The Nazarenes "accepted the Divinity of Christ, holding that He was born of the Virgin Mary. They admitted the Apostleship of St. Paul. Although they wished to remain Jews themselves and to retain the obligation of the Mosaic Law, they did not desire to bind these obligations on Gentile Christians, nor did they refuse to have fellowship

names and in conclusion said in anger, "Go, wretch, do what thou likest and take this warning which I give thee, if thou speakest to any body about what passed between us I shall immediately put thee on *soly*,^{5a} that is to say, impale you." It is the instrument of execution in these regions, a wood firmly fixed in the ground with a very sharp point at the other end ; on this the culprit, is seated and when it enters through his body, two executioners drag him by the legs until the point appears through the head and he is in that state left to the birds who do not take long to devour him. Thus threatened, the apostate left the presence of the Governor and thence went to the house of the *Cahazy*⁶ of the Mouros where he professed (the faith) of the sect of Mafoma and begged the ministers to go with him to his house for circumcising him [115]. He remained in bed for many days on account of the wound caused thereby, of which not a few die. After he had been cured (he rose—*se levantou*) he got as reward a Moura to marry and many a *cruzado* per day besides the sixty he got per month as Constable, and so felt very happy. I do not know how he ended but it is not necessary to enquire about it. None wonder at the conduct of the Governor, for he was one of those who had accompanied the patriarch, Dom Affonso Mendes.⁷

When he left Ethiopia and when that Prelate died at Goa he had nothing to give to his followers and they found themselves unprovided for. So cold was the affection of the Christians that these had to seek a living among the Mouros. This

with them. They mourned over the unbelief of the Jewish nation, and eagerly looked for the time when the Jews who loved them not should believe in Christ." (Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Edicts*, Vol. V, p. 141.)

^{5a} Sanskrit *shula*, an instrument of punishment.

⁶ Correctly *Kāzī* from Arabic *Kādī*, a judge.

⁷ Dom Affonso Mendes belonged to the suite of Dom Rodrigo de Lima who was sent to Abyssinia as ambassador in 1520-21. Professor Pissurlencar sends me the following note: Affonso Mendes was born at Moura in Portugal, he was a Jesuit and a Doctor of Theology. He became Patriarch of Ethiopia and was nominated Arch Bishop of Goa but died on his return to India in June, 1656. Publication, "*Carta do Patriarcha de Ethiopia Dom Afonso Mendez, escripta de sua propria mão ao muyto Reverendo Padre Mutio Viteleschi Preposito Geral da Companhia de Jesus*", Lisbon 1631. It was later translated into French and published at Lille in 1633.

Governor finding himself at Goa in that condition embarked for Surrate where he met others of his nation who knew him, for he was their leader. They persuaded him to serve a king who esteemed the Abyssinians very much and particularly men of such high station as was his. He did so and left for the capital of Agra and the Great Mogol [116] immediately appointed him captain of eight hundred horse and he afterwards rose to be an *Umbrao* of three thousand horse and was now Governor of Sulapur, a fortress of importance, as it was on the frontiers. But he always preserved the Christian faith and used to confess whenever he met a missionary.

CHAPTER XIV

SEVAGY BEGS PERMISSION TO GO TO HIS TERRITORIES AND THE ANXIETY ATTENDANT ON HIS PROMISE OF RETURN AND HIS RECALL

When the army was quartered in the suburbs of Sulapur, the Rayá immediately communicated to the Great Mogol the causes of retiring from Vizapur. In his letter he highly praised Sevagy and rightly, for it was due to him that the army had not been routed by the Daquinis. So much did it suffer and such was the celerity of the latter and so uncertain were their sieges and assaults, so great were the hunger and suffering for lack of food, that if Sevagy had not been there everything would possibly have been different. No soldier of the Great Mogol [117] would have reached Sulapur. The General reported all this to the Mogol (and added) how Sevagy had promised to serve him ever with the same zeal, and how he had also delivered the twenty fortresses he had captured, which had already been garrisoned by Mogols, and many other things that affection knows how to paint and convenience how to invent. After the letters had been despatched, Sevagy, as he had nothing more to do, begged the Rayá's permission to go to his territories where his presence was necessary. The Rayá immediately gave him leave, and set him free, as if it was his own concern. He allowed Sevagy to take away his son, realising that hostages were now superfluous and only begged him to promise that he would return should it be necessary to recall him, which Sevagy immediately did. He departed with all his men on the following day. But twenty-four hours had not elapsed when news came to the army that Sevagy had sacked some Mogol stations. It was a falsehood that some Captains, not well disposed towards the Rayá, had invented as an excuse for writing to the Great Mogol against him, mentioning the frankness with which the Rayá had treated Sevagy and specially [118] the leave he had given him (to go) when he had so securely in his power an enemy equally crafty and bold. (Perceiving it) the Rayá also informed the Mogol of the reasons he had for letting Sevagy

go and also of the promise he had made of returning, should that be necessary, for it was his intention to go to the capital to receive a *jaguir* from His Majesty and to serve him ever as one of his most faithful *Umbraos*. The Mogol replied, warmly congratulating the Rayá on the subjugation of Sevagy and the restoration of the fortresses, but he ardently wished to see Sevagy and to know him by sight, as he had heard so much and such great things about him that his desire to see him daily grew stronger. Therefore, he strongly urged the Rayá to send Sevagy so that after seeing him (the Mogol) might confer on him the office he desired and other favours. The Rayá sent information to Sevagy of what had happened and of the honours that the Mogol wanted to bestow on him, so that he should be cheerful and immediately come to him to get his letter and leave for the court where also he would be received with such honours that he would have to thank the Rayá all his life. Sevagy read the letter [119] very careuflly and formed a very different opinion (came to a different conclusion). For he had forgotten neither the might of the Mogol nor the offence which he had received from the sack of Surrate and the capture, reduction and plunder of the fortresses and from so much injury done to His Majesty. Influenced by all these considerations Sevagy resolved not to confide in him or in the Rayá. For he knew very well that the usual practice of oriental kings and grandees was neither to use bad words nor to do a good deed. It might be due to an influence that the sun exercised here more than in any other part of the world. Sevagy, therefore, replied to the Rayá that as his absence from his territories had been long, the disorder he found there was also great, that its adjustment demanded time, and that he could not on that account got to the court at the time, and further that if it were necessary for the service of the Great Mogol he would at once set out for whatever place he might have directed to, for it was not his custom to fail in his word and that that was what he had promised. The Rayá then kept quiet, but realised very well that Sevagy would not got to the Great Mogol's court of his own (free) will. He replied [120] that his excuse was very just, but he expected that as soon as the disorders were dealt with, he (Sevagy) should without fail come to visit him (Rayá), for he knew the cravings he (the Rayá) had to see him whom

he loved like a son absent for many years ; that if he wanted to go to the court he might do so, if not, no one would compel him to make the journey, for though the Great Mogol felt ardent desires to see him, he knew well that princes easily forgot even such wishes ; that these (desires) had been caused by the great things of which (the Rayá) had written in his letter in his (Sevagy's) praise and what he had (the Mogol) heard from others, and if nevertheless he (Sevagy) did not wish the honours that awaited him, there was this difference between honour and penalty, that penalty was inflicted by force and honour was awarded out of pleasure. At this stage a fresh letter came from the Mogol in which he strongly insisted to have Sevagy alive or dead. This letter caused much anxiety to the Rayá, for he saw the difficulty of sending Sevagy once he was frightened, and it would be still more difficult if he came to know of the insistence of the Mogol. Then came another letter and more followed always with the same order, from which [121] the Rayá understood very clearly that the Mogol wanted to put Sevagy to death and he decided to entertain the Mogol with hopes and confused excuses, till he should find the task forgotten. At the same time he sent repeated letters to Sevagy harping upon his longings to see him, but the more he wrote the greater grew the suspicions of Sevagy at such affectionate regard. The Mogol hourly expected the Rayá's letter with the news of Sevagy's coming but, finding that all letters kept it off with excuses and cold hopes, he decided to disbelieve him and send a present to the Rayá. It consisted of a sword and a bracelet and the Mogol said in the letter that after sending Sevagy to his presence (the Rayá) he should take that sword and serve with it as a valiant General, and that if he could not send Sevagy, he should put that bracelet on his arms, for no other presents were made to women. This was the greatest affront that could be offered in that kingdom and he who incurred the penalty of having the bracelet became totally infamous, and so it caused the Rayá great pain and bitterness, because if he sent Sevagy he would fail in his oath [122] which he had taken by his gods and in the fidelity which he had promised him, and if he did not send Sevagy, he would be put to disgrace and would be unworthy of appearing among men. He felt so melancholy and sad that in a few days his life was

despaired of. No ingenuity or diversion could cheer or enliven him, but in his perpetual somnolence he repeated: *Sevagy antha nehem*, that is to say, "Sevagy has not yet come?" He was in this state on account of the great exertion he had made to induce Sevagy to see him, but Sevagy did not disclose to others what he would do.

At last the Rayá reached the last state of his life, and his son Conhorgy¹ (seeing it) wrote to Sevagy a letter in which he represented the condition in which his father was, namely, that he was always sighing for him (earnestly wishing to see him) and that all believed that his appearance alone could save him (the Rayá) from death, but that if he did not start at once it would be useless later, and that he should, however, realise that he enjoyed the affection of his father more than he (though he was) his son. But in such (demonstrations of) affection he suppressed from him the news of the letters and the solicitations of the Mogol. This news threw Sevagy into a suspense [123] and after some deliberations (discourses), he decided that one, from whom he had received such benevolence and who had sworn his fidelity by his gods, could not have any design (against him), mounted his horse, and followed by two thousand cavalry, set out in all haste for Sulapur where the camp still was. On his way all people, either out of obligations or from fear, came to receive him, but he was in such a hurry that he did not accept either presents or hospitality (shelter) of anybody and, in the briefest possible time reached the army where the life of the Rayá was despaired of, and without arranging for the lodging of his men, started for his tent where the porters embraced each other in their joy when they saw him and *rān* to impart the news to the Rayá that Sevagy begged his permission to enter. It was a wonder that the echo of Sevagy's (voice) opened for the Rayá his eyes and the gates of health, for as soon as he learnt of his arrival all his illness disappeared. Sevagy entered, but could not recognise the Rayá, for he saw him with his beard all white, as in illness it was not tinged

¹ Kunwarji. This title is usually conferred on the heir-apparent, but Kunwar Ram Singh was with the Emperor while his father commanded in the Deccan. Kirat Singh, younger son of the Raja, is probably referred to. Khafi Khan mentions another son, Kesar Singh. (Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. VII, p. 272.)

(painted). When assured of who he was, Sevagy threw himself on the earth in his presence and the Rayá [124] raising himself from his pillows and sitting on the bed, threw his arms around Sevagy and remained in that state for more than an hour without speaking. Then the Rayá broke the silence saying, "Sevagy, hast thou seen what affliction thy absence caused me, but now that Ramagy (it is an idol of his) has been pleased to show thee, he will also give me the health I lack." Sevagy responded, speaking about the anxieties that Conhorgy's letter had caused him and that after reading it he had made no delay and set out to visit His Highness (*sua grandeza*). He confessed that nothing could repay the paternal affection the Rayá showed him. After much time had been spent in reciprocal courtesies, the Rayá directed his son to leave the tent in which Sevagy was if it was not big enough for both of them to live in. The officers of the army soon came to Sevagy to welcome him, the joy was so universal that Sevagy might easily guess its cause, but he was free from all fears, as he found himself treated by the Rayá as a father and by his sons as brothers. Sevagy did not leave the presence of the Rayá and his joy was so great [125] that in a few days his strength was restored, but previous to that he had written to the Mogol from his bed that he had got Sevagy in his power and he would send him to His Majesty. This news so pleased the Mogol that he augmented the *jaguir* and the number of the cavalry of the Rayá, of which he was forthwith informed. The Rayá, in consequence, sent for one of the bravest captains of the army, called Dilalghan,² a Pathan^{2a} by nation, and the Pathans were all haughty and proud, and directed him to be prepared to convey a very valuable (*grandioso*) present to

² Diler Khan, his proper name was Jalal Khan Daudzai. He served under Prince Sulaiman Shukoh during the war of succession and later accompanied Mir Jumla to Assam. He was appointed second in command to Jai Singh and participated in almost all the important wars of Aurangzib. He was the founder of Shahjahanpur in Rohilkhand and died at Aurangabad in 1682-83. (Irvine, *Manucci's Storia do Mogor*, Vol. I, p. 243.)

^{2a} Bernier writes of the Pathans: "*The Pathans also are an intractable race. They are Mahometans, . . . Even the menials and carriers of water belonging to that nation are high spirited and warlike. They hold the Indians, both Gentiles and Mogols, in the utmost contempt.*" (Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, pp. 206-207.)

the Mogol, "for which" the Rayá said, "think well what title the Mogol would give you besides the rank of a *Panch Azari*³ with the title of Nabobo"⁴ (the former means a captain of five thousand horse, and the latter signifies a prince in his own rights). He thanked him much for the favour and hastened to get ready with all speed, but everything was done so secretly that Sevagy perceived nothing, for if he had suspected it, it is likely, he might save himself as he possessed skill and ingenuity for even greater things.

³ This would place the officer in the highest rank which consisted of *mansabs* from 4,000 to 7,000 (Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 5).

⁴ Portuguese *Nabábo*, and French *Nabab*, from Hind. *Nawab*, which is the Ar. pl. of sing. *Nāyab*, "a deputy" and was applied in a singular sense to a delegate of the supreme Chief, viz., to a Viceroy or Chief Governor under the Great Mogul, e.g., the *Nawāb* of Arcot, the *Nawāb Nāẓim* of Bengal. From this use it became a title of rank without necessarily having any office attached." (*Hobson Jobson*, p. 610.)

CHAPTER XV

THE RAYÁ ORDERS SEVAGY TO GO TO THE COURT AND WHAT HE DID THERE

With the degree of the improvement of the Rayá's health increased Sevagy's joy produced by the memories of the illness. But such affection does not exist on earth, as Sevagy very soon experienced in punishment of his simplicity, for as soon as Dilalghan was ready to start, he entered the tent of the Rayá where Sevagy was alone, for, so it had been directed. The Rayá then began to persuade Sevagy with many illustrations, as was his wont, that it would be very profitable for him to go to the presence of the Great Mogol, for he would not then lose the honours that awaited him there, and the Rayá was certain not only of the magnitude of the honour, but also of the Mogol's desire to give him a *jaguir* in the very kingdom of Concao near the territories of Sevagy himself, who could not doubt the affection he owed him without being ungrateful, nor could (he suspect the motive) from which proceeded, [127] so sound a counsel intended only to see him secure and to augment his prosperity. In confirmation of all that he had said he wanted to send in his company the famous Dilalghan, the ablest Captain in that army. In order that Sevagy might not have any doubt about anything the Rayá sent for Sevagy's own Bracmene (he was the Padre by whom Sevagy was guided) who had told the Rayá that it was the will of the god Rama that Sevagy should go to the capital. Rama is one of his principal gods, whose oracle is contrived and repeated by the Bracmenes, who are hypocrites as this one was, and he had already been purchased for his falsehood. In the meantime the Bracmene entered, and with an abundant flow of words confirmed what the Rayá had said. Until this moment Sevagy had kept silent without uttering a single word, but after everything had been said he heaved a sigh that seemed to come from the bottom of his heart and said in a faltering voice with a changed face and flaming eyes, "Little did I think, Rayá that I should meet with such treatment from you and so great a treason [128] (which

is) not only against the custom of the Rayás but against the faith of the very gods by whom you swore my security. It is my misfortune that that in which none of your caste ever fail, the greatest of them should offend, but as it is, give me time to get ready what I and my people should need most in such a long journey and to inform my uncle Neotagy as to how he should behave during my absence." The Rayá did not agree to this prayer, though he knew well that there was considerable force in Sevagy's arguments, but fearing lest he should find himself again in that precarious condition, he was obliged to avoid its very possibility (*reccos-fear*) and being certain that, unless he quickly prevented it, there might be that risk after Sevagy had learnt his decision, so he replied that as an older man he knew better what was more suitable and the great good it would do him, that he had no other alternative but to leave for Dely¹ at once, and that when he arrived there he would learn how much indebted he was to him (the Rayá), but that he could not leave his presence except under the charge of the Captain to whom the Rayá had entrusted the care of Sevagy's person of which he would have to render an account [129] whenever it was demanded. He could take a page (with him) to serve him, for everything else had been arranged. At this extreme Sevagy begged that he (the Rayá) should at least permit him to take his Bracmene (such is the blindness of these idolators), so that he might have at least the consolation of having one who would remind him of the name of Rama, for his heart told him that he was going to die. The Rayá generously conceded this, for it was in conformity with (the belief of) his sect, and they at once departed for Horongabat^{1a} which is seventy leagues from Sulapur. His men did not know of Sevagy's departure nor was the news divulged for many days, but as his soldiers used to visit Sevagy every hour it was necessary for the Rayá to hide himself, and they were told that he had gone with Sevagy on a pilgrimage to such and such an idol and would not return till such a time, as it seemed necessary to the Rayá to be free from the fear of what his men

¹ Shivaji went to Agra in 1666 and not to Delhi. This was, however, a common and natural mistake.

^{1a} Aurangabad, chief town of the district of the same name, in the Nizam's State.

might do to set Sevagy free. At last the truth was proclaimed when Sevagy's men returned to their lands tearing their beards in sorrow and at the deception by which they had been detained. The uncle Neotagy became excessively [130] (grieved) at the news and cursed even the gods for not knowing or suspecting the treason when he could remedy it. On the other hand Dilalghan became apprehensive (that Sevagy's men might do something) and marched without stopping for a moment and in two and half days reached Horangabat where he considered himself safe. Here he rested for three days for the arrival of his men and baggage, of which a captain in this country carries more than an army in Europe. From here he left for the capital in a more leisurely fashion. He frequently visited Sevagy, whose uncommon sadness did not admit of any consolation, though his goaler cheered him with very high expectations. At last, after a journey of four months they reached the capital, and leaving Sevagy well secured, Dilalghan immediately went to inform the King who was exceedingly pleased to hear the news and to find in his power a person (*huma cousa*) whom he wanted so much and for such reasons. He ordered to deliver Sevagy at once to the *Fusadar*.² The *Fusadar* is a Captain of twelve thousand horse and he is responsible for the security of the capital from thieves [131]. He is obliged to account for everything that happens with the delivery of culprits whatever the crime may be. If a man is murdered or a theft is committed the *Fusadar* has to deliver immediately the thief and the murderer or to pay with his head, such is the risk of this office. Yet no *Fusadar* has been beheaded for failure in this respect, such is the care (he takes) and so (strict is) government among barbarians. This *Fusadar* was the son of the great Nabobo (of whom we will speak at another place) who had conquered many kingdoms for the Mogol, and for the service of his father he (the son) was given this office which is the second in the capital. Sevagy was then delivered to him and the Great Mogol sent for a goldsmith whom he ordered to make at once a silver vase in the shape of a boiling pot to

² More correctly *Faujdar*, a military Governor of a district or subdivision. According to Sabhasad, Shivaji was placed in charge of Fulad Khan, the *kotwal* or head of the metropolitan police. (Sen. *Siva Chhatrapati*, p. 86.)

put Sevagy's head in. It was his intention to place the vase with that head on his table, for he wanted to see such a crafty thief for a long while (for a long space of time). Three days had elapsed since Sevagy had been handed over to the *Fusadar* and he had (postponed) beheading him as he waited for the vase to be finished in which the head would be delivered the day after (the execution) [132]. That night Sevagy feigned some physical necessity and he was on that account given leave to go to the field, not only because they do not make use of the house (for this purpose), but also because there were so many guards, and they were so well regulated that this practice involved no risk. Sevagy took the garments of his Bracmene under his arms, and after going out to a little distance put himself in the usual posture, and in that posture moved slowly away until he found himself at a great distance from his guards who were too light-hearted to suspect the motive of Sevagy, as indeed even the desire of escape seemed impossible according to the disposition of that capital, for there were more guards than stones in that city, and the roads and the highways were so full of them that they looked more like armies than sentinels. The guards of Sevagy who were confident on this account, did not think much of the delay, but he (Sevagy) discarded his own dress and put on those of the Bracmene, grew so bold as if he was already free and went on running without stopping for the whole night, keeping himself as much as he could in the woods [133] ascending and descending the hills, his only thought being to keep away from the high roads and public ways (*caminhos*), but he proceeded with so much fright that if a leaf of a tree moved he prostrated himself knowing very well what a miracle it would be if he escaped. He did all that was possible for this (object), for he never spent his night (anywhere) except on the peak of hills, from where he observed by the light of the morning the path (*vareda*) he would follow and also (tried) to espy some hamlet or village where he would beg alms to sustain his life. This he did only in the hamlets of the Genitos who always lived in those woods to cultivate the land where they neither knew nor heard any news of the capital. He entered these villages saying Rama, Rama, which is the same as to say 'may God be with you all,' and as his clothes and language were those of a Padre, he got much alms which he

ate and stored (for emergency) in case of not finding a settlement of the Genitos. Besides this, they offered him many salutations and courtesies, as the respect with which all the gentiles treat those who bear the name of *Senasy*³, that is to say, priests of gods, is very great [134]. In the settlement where he found himself at dawn after the first night, he asked how far it was from the capital of Dely (whence he had fled), and they replied that it was eight leagues to the north. Thus he understood which way he had come that night and thenceforth always guided himself towards the south in order to get further from Dely. (He did so) (but) in the following manner, namely, that while he was in one village he gathered information about the next, and the man who led him there served as his servant from the former (village) when it was necessary, and as he was a Padre the Genitos obeyed him in all that he wished. In this manner he travelled six months through lands unknown to him, and as he did not always find villages, and as sometimes when the villages were so big that it was necessary to avoid them, he suffered many privations and on some occasions (ran) great risks. He remembered those to whom he was obliged as well as those from whom he suffered so much as to be driven from their houses and compelled to flee to strange lands with tears on that account, and he prayed to the gods in his misery to punish them for their tyrannies; on other occasions he would feel vexed [135] with himself for being so foolish as not only to deliver voluntarily twenty fortresses to the Mogol but (also) to confide in his people. He would ask himself, "where was thy wisdom, Sevagy? Of what use was thy valour if thou werest appraised as a simpleton by the world? The Rayá swore by the gods but thou werest so mad that thou didst not realise (as yet) that interest and convenience were the only true gods." In this manner he pursued the roads that he did not know, and diverted his troubles with these thoughts. He arrived near Surrate and then knew the country, but as all these lands belonged to the Mogol he could not as yet feel secure, but his complexion, dress and disposition had been so much changed that it was not easy to know him. It was, therefore, easy for him to go forward and enter his own lands, where he at once

³ Sanskrit *Sannyāsi*, a religious mendicant.

revealed himself to his people who directly informed his uncle Neotagy who came flying with seven thousand horse to seek him. Here we shall leave him to rest and receive congratulations. We shall now go in search of his Bracmene and his servant who were in the capital of Dely and to enquire into what [136] they had done there after the flight of Sevagy.

When the guards saw that Sevagy was late, they walked a few paces to find him, but as he was not found, they kept silent so that the whole blame might not fall on them. They returned as if they had brought him back to put him in his place, and they could do this, as it was night.

They lay down among other guards to sleep and when the morning dawned they all looked at the place where Sevagy would have been and they were not surprised when he was not seen (for all, except the few who knew of his flight) thought that he had been taken away without their knowledge to be beheaded. This was the common opinion and belief and in this belief the guards awoke the Bracmene and the servant whom they found still sleeping and asked them "where is your master?" They looked (for him) in all places and not finding him began to cry (weep) with great lamentation. The guards took pity on them and said "your master is dead and if you take a good counsel, put yourself in safety so that perchance the same fate may not befall you." They got the information [137] and leaving the place put themselves in the concourse of people who were going by the roads where they did not hear anything but the news of Sevagy's death, so they were obliged to seek in the inns people who should go to the kingdom of Decan and accommodating themselves as their servants arrived in their country where they found their master resuscitated. That morning the goldsmith took to the palace the work, that had been ordered, finished, and as soon as the Mogol saw it, he ordered the *Fusadar* to send the head of Sevagy. The *Fusadar* went to make the execution and found that Sevagy had fled. He was not much frightened, for he had never heard the news before, and sent innumerable persons to the roads and highways to bring him immediately, but in vain, for though much effort was made, neither was Sevagy found nor was there the least information about him. The soldiers returned very much confused and the *Fusadar* was almost mad not knowing what

answer to give to the King. Finding himself in difficulty he managed to avoid the blow and put another head. He sent for the guards [138] to whom Sevagy had been entrusted and demanded from them the prisoner who had been delivered (to them). In their confusion they could give no more reply than shrugging their shoulders which was to confess their guilt. The *Fusadar* shot rays of fire from his eyes and in his fury ordered all to be inhumanly flogged and the head of the officer who commanded them to be cut which he immediately sent to the King baptising it with the name of Sevagy, and this was put in the celebrated vase that the king had ordered to made, and it was this head that the king contemplated and interrogated about the sack of Surrate and other deeds that Sevagy had done and he derived therefrom much satisfaction and (thus) took his vengeance upon a cunning and cruel enemy. The *Fusadar* was no less pleased to find himself saved from the insult and punishment which he would doubtless have suffered if that imposition had not succeeded. But Sevagy was more satisfied than all of them, for much refreshed in his country he was laughing at them all. We are now going to finish his life.

CHAPTER XVI

WHAT SEVAGY DID WHILE IN HIS TERRITORIES

[139] Though he was free and safe, nothing could keep Sevagy quiet, for people learn much from experience. He did not want to conquer more lands in the interior but resolved to try his luck on the sea. He equipped twenty-five ships that he had purchased from his subjects and as almost all his territories consisted of maritime districts they abounded with ships and sea-faring men, but the fighting crew were not of the suitable sort as they had never before embarked. He sent this fleet to attack only the Malawares¹ and other oriental people who navigated those coasts but in no case were they to content with a European nation. The fleet appeared in the ports of Canara (these are Oner, Barcelor, Cambolim, Mangalor, etc.²) where they found many boats called *Parangues*. As the *Parangues*³ do not carry arms nor fighting men, the fleet captured them all and with one hundred and twenty [140] boats started for his (Sevagy's) ports. Information was immediately sent from Canara to the Viceroy of India (which post was then occupied by) Antonio de Mello de Castro⁴ whose wisdom and valour were as well known in Europe as respected in the East. He at once ordered his son Diniz de Mello de Castro who was at that time stationed at the Bar of Goa as General of the Fleet, to go immediately with eight ships to rescue the *Parangues* captured by Sevagy's fleet. He set sail and, after passing the isles of Mar-

¹ Malabars or people of the Malabar coast.

² Honavar, Barcelore and Mangalore are well known ports, Cambolim is probably Cambala, modern Kumblapeth south of Mangalore. (See the French map appended to Danvers's *Portuguese in India*, Vol. I.) Honavar is 50 miles south-east of Kārwar, Mangalore is situated on the shore of the Indian Ocean in 12°52' E. Barcelore or Basrūr is in South Kanara District and is 4 miles from Coondapoor.

³ A type of coasting vessels.

⁴ Antonio de Mello de Castro was appointed Governor of India in 1662, but he was soon afterwards raised to the dignity of Viceroy. It was during his viceroyalty that Bombay was delivered to the English. His son Diniz was Captain Commandant of Chaul.

mugao,⁵ saw the vanguard of Sevagy's fleet consisting of thirteen ships, the remaining twelve being in the rear of the *Parangues* they had seiged. Diniz de Mello attacked and captured the ships of the vanguard and those of the rear hoisted all their sails and fled for safety when they perceived the disaster of the van. Diniz de Mello satisfied with his victory let them go and entered the Bar of Goa with the captives and their (erstwhile) conquerors.⁶ Sevagy's sailors were imprisoned in the fortress of Marmugao, the *Parangues* were unloaded (of rice), and the captives were set free [141]. An envoy of Sevagy soon came with ample apologies to the Viceroy, and pleaded that it was never his (master's) intention to offend the Portuguese for whom he had always entertained great respect as he had demonstrated in the principality of Lacomosanto bordering on the Portuguese territories where he did not do anything which did not prove his regard (for them). In confirmation of this, he promised to behead the General of the fleet when he had him in his power, for having offended against his wish in what concerned the Portuguese nation whom he respected so much, and begged that His Excellency should restore the ships he had taken, and in case he demanded other satisfactions, he should inform Sevagy, and whatever he might demand would be sent at once. The Viceroy replied that he was not in need of ships and had ordered their capture only to show Sevagy how little his arms availed against the people of Europe, but he was very much pleased with this offer in return for which he restored the thirteen ships with everything they had [142] and warned Sevagy that henceforward he should instruct his men about their conduct towards the Portuguese. It cannot be described how the Viceroy rose in the estimation of Sevagy on account of the treatment he had accorded him and Sevagy liked him so much that he always praised his valour, judgment and courtesy. The Viceroy had great credit with Sevagy and enjoyed his respect as long as he was in India even after he had ceased to govern.

⁵ Marmugão is a port near Goa.

⁶ One Sebastião Nunes Olares refers to this incident in a petition dated the 13th August, 1688. (Sen, *Military System of the Marathas*, p. 183.)

CHAPTER XVII

CONTINUATION OF THE SAME WITH MORE MINUTE NARRATION OF WHAT SEVAGY DID AFTER HIS ARRIVAL IN HIS COUNTRY

We have not told in the last chapter what effect Sevagy's release had on his own people and what happened at the court of Dely when it was known, which we shall now relate as briefly as we can. It cannot be described how happy Sevagy's uncle Neotagy felt when he saw his nephew free against the expectation of both of them. He loved him excessively and, therefore, [143] his affection led him to make excessive demonstrations. After great sacrifices, charities and rejoicings he sent information to all the provinces and the fortresses how the gods, in their singular kindness, had been pleased to bring back their master alive and free from the inhuman tyranny of the Mogol. With this news the vassals gained remarkably fresh vigour ; believing him to be dead, they had been greatly dispirited by the loss of such a master, who had endeared himself, not only by the thoroughness of justice which he administered impartially to all, but also by the promptness and liberality with which he rewarded all services, for no one could be found to complain that he had done something for Sevagy without immediately receiving on that account the most advantageous reward. There was no subject (of Sevagy), therefore, who did not celebrate his freedom with some special demonstration and no people that did not offer some sacrifices for it. Sevagy, however, as we have already said, came somewhat humbled in his pride, for the fear of the risk in which he had found himself had gone deep into him. And so he never more ascended the Gate nor even in his own lands did he feel secure [144] for fear of falling into the hands of the Great Mogol for a second time. It was on this account and from this fear that he asked for safe conduct or security from Antonio de Mello de Castro, Viceroy of India, to pass to the Portuguese territories with all his treasures only in case the Mogol came against him with such an army which he thought he would not be

able to resist, for in that case alone he would like to secure his person. The Viceroy replied that if such an occasion arose, and if he wanted to avail himself of the favour of the Portuguese, he would always find security in their territories though he might fail to defend himself against the Mogol, who was more powerful, and though he might not possess forces enough for resisting the Mogol, and though, moreover, it might cause much loss to the fortresses that he had in the provinces dominated by the Mogol. With this reply, the negotiation terminated, Sevagy then desired to conceal the news of his release without realising that the public festivities of his uncle and yassals had already divulged it to the whole world. When the Rayá, who still commanded the army, got this information he feared [145] lest the restoration of Sevagy's life might end his, though it might have been a work of the devil, for having failed Sevagy in his words and his gods in his faith. He wrote at once to the Great Mogol giving him an account of the festivities made by the subjects and people of Sevagy on account of his liberation. He wanted to know whether His Majesty had granted Sevagy his life out of pity or set him at large for some other reason, for the Rayá knew how Sevagy would behave. The Mogol was stupified when he got this letter. At the same instant he sent for the *Fusadar*, who arrived quite ignorant of what the King wanted, but when he heard of what the Rayá's letter said, he suppressed the great terror he felt in his heart, and with great confidence spoke as follows:

"Mighty Lord, if Sevagy had returned to his lands the demon must have taken his form, I say, this, for is not there a certain theory among these Gentios, of which we Mouros make ridicule, that asserts that the soul returns again to life, entering, according to its merits, into bodies superior or inferior? The good ones [146] enter in the bodies of Kings and Princes while the bodies of dogs, cats and rats are reserved for the bad ones. But as Sevagy did not perform any good deed in his life, it is difficult that he should find the body of another Sevagy to enter for continuing the evils done by him whose severed head Your Majesty saw so many times on your royal table. As the Rayá assures Your Majesty that Sevagy is in his lands, we can remove the error of all. Only the Hindus in their faith are right and all else are wrong, for even our Prophet Mahamet

did not understand what he himself said. Then all that he left us in Angil,¹ Moçaso² and Alcoran³ is false, as he ignored such an important subject as that of revival immediately after death, unless the Rayá dreamt of Sevagy and his fear suggested to him that he had Sevagy for his neighbour and this fear was what dictated this letter, so that Your Majesty might send a successor who did not dream?" The *Fusadur* said all these so unshaken, quiet and calm that it left in a suspense not only the King [147] but all the grandees who were there. So nobody contradicted him and the King, being carried away by appearances, gave him (the Rayá) to understand the penalty he would have for writing to him what had not been properly verified and ascertained. He immediately replied to the Rayá in the following terms "He was much surprised to find that he spoke of Sevagy whose severed head he saw so many times and he, the Rayá, should in future consider better how to write to kings." Such is the deception in which kings live in this world. They are so surrounded in all kingdoms and in all parts of the world by hypocrites that many end their lives before they find the semblance of truth. The letter of the Mogol caused much

¹ *Injil*, the gospel, invariably stands for the Bible.

² *Moçaso* may be a corrupt form of *Musawi*, pertaining to Musa, the prophet. But the book, ascribed to Moses or Musa, is called *Tourât* or *Torah*. It is most likely a misprint of *Moçafô*, Arabic *al Moshâf*, the volume, by which name the Quran is frequently called. The mention of *Moshâf* and the *Quran*, at one and the same time, may reasonably be ascribed to the writer's ignorance.

³ *Al Qurân*, the revealed book of the Muslims. "The word Korân, derived from the verb Karaa, to read, signifies properly, in Arabic, the reading or, rather, that which ought to be read; by which name the Mohammedans denote not only the entire book or volume of the Korân, but also any particular chapter or section of it." "Besides this peculiar name, the Korân is also honoured with several appellations, common to other books of scripture: as al Forkân, from the verb faraka, to divide or distinguish." "It is also called at Moshâf, the volume, and al Kitâb, the book, by way of eminence." "The Korân is divided into 114 larger portions of very unequal length, which we call chapters, but the Arabians Sowar, in the singular Sûra, a word rarely used on any other occasion." "The Korân is universally allowed to be written with the utmost elegance and purity of language, in the dialect of the tribe of Koreish, the most noble and polite of all the Arabians, but with some mixture, though very rarely, of other dialects. It is confessed by the standard of the Arabic tongue." (Sale, *The Koran*, pp. 43-46.)

bitterness to the Rayá, as he found truth suppressed and falsehood triumphant and so, though he knew that Sevagy existed alive and sound, he did not any more speak a word about him to the King. And as it happened that Sevagy did not harass his territories the Mogol remained in the belief that he had been beheaded. Sevagy (saved) his head, the *Fusadar* laughed, the Rayá was confused and the captain of the guards buried, for all over the world [148] the poor pay for the oversight of the rich. But as Sevagy had decided within himself not to disturb the territories of the Mogol, he had likewise resolved not to suffer any other ruler in the whole of Concao except himself, and consequently conquered all the Deçaes there were (in Concao) where happened great things particularly in the conquest of Banda⁴ of which Lacomosanto was the lord, but he and others fled to Goa with all their precious things, leaving Sevagy the absolute lord of all their territories. The Deçaes being finished, he conquered Bicholym which belonged to Vizapur and then proceeded to capture the fortress of Ponda⁵ which was reduced after some resistance and soon afterwards (were conquered) all the neighbouring territories and Sevagy became master of all the territories belonging to the King of Vizapur below the Gates as far as the river Merizen⁶ which forms the boundary of the kingdom of Canara. All this done and secured, he retired to his land of Rayaguer where he then had his residence and which had already become a magnificent capital.

From here he immediatly issued orders to all his maritime governors, [149] of whom there were many, to build and buy many ships from which resulted the fleet (*armada*), of which we have already spoken.

⁴ The old capital of Savantwadi "about six miles south of Vádi and twenty from the sea".

⁵ Phonda is now in Portuguese India. It was reduced by Shivaji in 1675. The Conde da Ericeira, during his second viceroyalty, annexed Phonda in 1741. (Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, Vol. II, p. 416.)

⁶ River Mergen, north of Honawar. See the French Map appended to Danver's *Portuguese in India*, Vol. I. The river is now known as the Aghanashani or the Tadri. It flows by Mirjān, an old seat of trade, and was in former times named after that place.

CHAPTER XVIII

SEVAGY SACKS SURRATE FOR A SECOND TIME AND WHAT HE DID ON HIS WAY

Sevagy had resolved within himself to quarrel no more with the Mogol, for reasons mentioned above, but as many years had elapsed and apparently because he had foreseen his (approaching) end, he wanted in some way or other to avenge his wrong—if it was not, as he himself asserted, to show the Great Mogol that his (Sevagy's) devices could achieve more than his (Mogol's) might. He marched to the north with a strong army without divulging his intentions to anybody. He passed through his territories in Concao till he reached Danda Rayapuri,¹ which was an excellent fortress of the Sedy (of whose nation we have already spoken) which he wanted to take by surprise, but meeting with a gallant resistance, he desisted from the enterprise which he had [150] supposed to be easier. From here he passed to the cities of Beundy and Galiana which he now for a second time sacked. This done, he entered into the territories of a prince called the Colle² in the neighbourhood of

¹ Danda-Rajpuri, "on the south shore of the Rajpuri creek near its mouth and about a mile from the island fort of Janjira."

² The Koli Raja of Jawhar. Jawhār state is situated within the geographical limits of Thana district, Bombay. "Up to 1924, the period of the first Muhammadan invasion of the Deccan, Jawhār was held by a Vārli, not a Koli Chief. The first Koli Chief, Paupera, otherwise known as Jayaba obtained his footing in Jawhār by a devise similar to that of Dido, when she asked for and received as much land as the hide of a bull would cover. Jayaba was succeeded by his son Nim Shāh, on whom the King of Delhi conferred the title of Rājā. The Ahmadabad Sultāns, who held the sea-coast of Thana, interfered but little with the inland portion of Jawhār: but with the Portuguese a continuous struggle was waged, which lasted until the decay of the latter, when the Jawhār Chief, aided by alliances with the Mughal generals, managed to plunder the Portuguese possessions in the North Konkan and extend his territories from Bassein to Dāhānu. Subsequently the Marāthās, who attacked the state on several occasions, deprived the Chief of part of his territory and forced him to pay tribute. The succession to the Chiefship follows the rule of primogeniture; a *sanad* granting the right of adoption on failure of natural heirs was

the city of Baçaym. The natives of this place were quite used to bushes which were very dangerous to all others, but the people of Sevagy were familiar with similar other jungles and entered them with great ease. The Colle had been laughing at the intention of Sevagy, for his country was really impenetrable, but he found himself outwitted (*enganado*), for in a few hours he saw most of his men killed and his woods conquered. He betook himself to a cave, so hidden, that even the natives were ignorant of its existence, and there, with some men who had followed him, awaited the decision of Sevagy, but this did not avail, for sixty thousand men were searching for him, and afterwards found the cave, and seizing the Colle by the hands carried him through air to their master, when in his presence the Colle saluted him as his own King. And Sevagy, contrary to his former practice, granted him many honours and favours, assuring him [151] that he had not come there with the purpose of injuring him; if he had received him as a friend he would have got even certain favours against his enemies and, as a proof of what he said, he gave him large presents (*dadivas*) and many rich dresses at which the Colle, pleased and freed from fear, voluntarily made himself his vassal and fixed the number of rupias he would always pay as tribute. From this event it was concluded in those regions that it was not Sevagy, and if it were he, he could not live long, so much was he changed.³ But Sevagy himself declared afterwards that he had engaged in that enterprise only because no one else had done so before. From here he passed to the territories of Choutea,⁴ another prince, who was a neighbour of Damao, a city of the Portu-

granted in 1890. Except the *nazarāna*, or succession fee in case of adoption, the Rājā pays no tribute to Government. Jawhār is under political control of the Collector of Thāna." (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIV, pp. 87-88.)

³ It is still commonly believed in Bengal that a sudden change in taste and temperament invariably foreshadows death.

⁴ Chauthia. The Raja of Ramnagar was known as the Raja Chauthia among the Portuguese, as he used to exact Chauth from the Portuguese subjects of Daman. (See Sen, *Military System of the Marathas*, Chapter II.) The principality of Ramnagar is now called Dharampur. "In 1576 the Chief of Ramnagar went to meet Akbar's minister Todar Mal at Broach, and accepted military rank at his hands. Seventy-two of the Dharampur villages were wrested from the state by the Marāthās early in the

guese, and (his lands) also were composed of big woods and his people were very valiant, specially a caste called Billes.⁵ This prince informed of what had befallen the Colle, did not like to see himself in the same predicament and in anticipation offered his vassalage with large presents and set out to receive Sevagy as if in triumph. This pleased him much, for Sevagy thought that [152] there was none who could oppose his power, and having accorded to Choutea the same treatment that he had meted out to the Colle, Sevagy passed on to Surrate through the Portuguese territories, but with a strict injunction (to his men) that no tress should be touched. When he crossed the river (*rio*-river or estuary) that divides the lands of the Mogol from those of the Portuguese, he was sixteen leagues from Surrate. He covered these sixteen leagues with all hurry, not allowing anybody to pass before him, as he wanted to take the city by surprise, but Sevagy was very much deceived, for the inhabitants had been warned since he entered the woods of the Colle. And as the approach of Sevagy was a suspicious affair to all, specially to those who had been robbed, they did not leave anything of value in the city, for everything was placed in security (put in secret places). One morning (*maadrugada*) the army suddenly entered (the city) and the confusion was similar to that in the past. The Europeans were vigilant and armed in their factories, the natives, some naked, others scantily dressed, were running through the streets without knowing whereto. As the purpose of Sevagy was only to make fun of the Great Mogol, he did not exert himself further [153]. The soldiers brought to his presence some merchants. As some of them were

eighteenth century. The claims of the Peshwā to the revenues of the State were ceded to the British under the terms of the Treaty of Bassein (1802), and the State now pays tribute of Rs. 9,000 to the Government. The ruling family are Sesodia Rājputs; they follow the rule of primogeniture in point of succession, and hold a *sanad* authorising adoption. The Chief is entitled to a salute of nine guns." (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XI, p. 296.)

⁵ More correctly *Bhils*. "Sanskrit *Bhilla*; H. *Bhil*. The name of a race inhabiting the hills and forests of the Vindhya, Malwa, and of the N-Western Deccan, and believed to have been the aborigines of Rajputana. They are closely allied to the Coolies of Guzerat, and are believed to belong to the *Kolarian* division of Indian aborigines. But no distinct Bhil language survives." (*Hobson Jobson*, pp. 91-92.)

half naked and others totally naked, they became the objects of Sevagy's laughter and banter. To some he said, "How could you subject yourself to a king who cannot defend you?" He asked others how they could pay tribute to Mouros, as they were Gentios. But he did no harm to any one of them. While he was doing this, the soldiers left nothing valuable in the city, though the master did not plunder as in the past,⁶ there was no lack of soldiers to rob. Sevagy ordered to sound the muster call and then quietly set out on a march for the top of the Gate, sacking all the places of the Mogol, like one taking leave of not only these (paces) but of life as well.

⁶ Comque ainda que para o senhor não houve as passadas enchentes
Literally, though, for the master, there was no abundance of the past.

CHAPTER XIX

ABOUT OTHER THINGS THAT SEVAGY DID TILL THE LAST DAYS OF HIS LIFE

Sevagy refreshed himself from the toils of the past in his capital of Rayaguer for many days. He soon arranged a [154] general visit to his estates. He left in person with that purpose, and there was not a province nor a fortress where he did not sojourn (for some time). He saw how his fortresses were provided, and enquired how their Governors behaved. He gave frequent audiences even to the most wretched of (*mais tristes*) his subjects and to all he administered equal and impartial justice. He ardently wished that there should be peace and order among his people and he did his best to ensure that they might all live in abundance. He did not enact many laws but his orders were strictly obeyed, and if anybody violated any of his orders the offender lived only so long as he (Sevagy) did not learn of it, for he was not less prompt in (inflicting) punishment than in awarding rewards. He never permitted any feud or strife, and least of all robbery, and for any (of these offences) (the culprit) paid with his life. But to pay for his (own) (offences) how many (lives) would be necessary to him? If in any of his stations or provinces any native wanted to molest a traveller and if the latter invoked (the name) of Sevagy all (his troubles) came to an end, such was the respect (he enjoyed) and such was the fear his subjects had (for him). At last such a condition was reached that all avoided, like a pest, to give the least displeasure to their master, for he was equally feared and loved. This visit in which he had spent much time being finished, he returned to Rayaguer where he made such a metropolis that its like had not been seen by anybody elsewhere. After this, he caused a rumour to be spread that he had left for the kingdom of Carnate to fulfil his vows and promises made to the celebrated idols of Terpassur, Trivablur, and to Rama of Ramancor,¹ this falsehood was given currency in such a manner

¹ Terpassur is probably "Trippapūr, village and shrine in the Trivandrum *tāluk* of Travancore State, Madras, situated in 88°33' N. and

that everybody accepted it as true and each one made his comment thereon. Some said that this was due to his fear that the Mogol would send such a force against him that he would not be able to escape. Others said that by this absence he wanted to try and test the fidelity of his subjects, to see whether during his absence he still retained and enjoyed the affection which was shown him while he was present. His uncle Neotagy governed as if he was alone, but in no case did he deviate from the instructions of his nephew, and during the two years the feigned absence lasted nothing happened worth noticing, as Neotagy was employed only in dealing justice and giving audience to all. Sevagy then found [156] that not the least change had come over his people but they were sighing (for seeing) to see him ; to assure himself of everything, he spread the rumour (publicou) of a longer absence and hid himself for another year at the end of which he had sudden and serious attack of fever,

76°58' E., about 5 miles north of Trivandrum. The shrine, in which are worshipped the feet of Vishnu, is of great sanctity. Ananta Padmanābha, the tutelary deity of Travancore royal house, is said to be resting with his head at Tiruvallam, his body at Trivandrum, and his feet at Trippapūr." (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXIV, p. 40.)

Tiruválúr, fifteen miles west of Negapatam. "It is widely known for its Siva temple, which is of remarkable beauty and sanctity and possesses the largest processional car in the district. The legend of the origin of the temple says that Indra went to Vishnu for help against some Rákshasas (giants) and the god gave him an image of Tyágarájasvámi (now the god of Tiruválúr) which he said would act as a talisman and secure Indra the victory, but must on no account be relinquished. Indra was successful on that occasion, but, getting into trouble again with the Rákshasas, he applied to the King of Tiruválúr, one Musukunda, for assistance, and promised him in return anything he might request. The King asked for the image of Tyágarájasvámi, and Indra had to fulfil his promise. The King then established the god in Tiruválúr." (*Gazetteer of the Tanjore District*, Vol. I, pp. 248-249.)

Rāmeswaram—Town in Madura district, Madras, situated in 9°17' N. and 79°19' E., on the island of Pāmban. It contains one of the most venerated Hindu shrines in India, which was founded, according to tradition, by Rāma himself as a thank offering for his success in his expedition against Rāvana, the ten headed King of Ceylon, who had carried off his wife, Sītā, (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXI, p. 173). The old temple was dedicated to Siva. A temple was later built for Rāma and Sītā, but Guarda probably refers to the Siva temple, traditionally ascribed to Rāma.

on which account he had to disclose himself, giving out that it had been caused by the toils of the road and change of water. The physicians, called *Panditos* in the Orient, met and applied the remedy which is as follows: For nine days they do not give the fever patient anything to eat except a little water passed through rice, called *Canja*,² without salt or any other seasoning in the morning and at night. These nine days are called *Langana*.³ A (*Fulano*) is in *Langana*, is to say that he is in this state. If the fever does not leave after nine days the illness is considered fatal. They do not on any occasion use bleeding in any form, and a purgative is rarely given; whether they are right or wrong I cannot judge, but what I do know is that generally they live longer than Europeans, almost double as long. If a cure is prescribed for health, any one who likes can draw the [157] inference. These *Panditos* know not science, but they have much experience which the parents transmit to their sons. The profession of a physician is, therefore, a hereditary one. They are all *Bracmenes* and they all have great knowledge of herbs. The *Langana* was over but *Sevagy's* fever did not leave and even rose so high that the cruel fasting left him extremely weak and totally prostrated. All the *Bracmenes* then agreed to try supernatural remedies, for they had already lost confidence in those of their art, and, therefore, advised *Sevagy* to make such vows and sacrifices to this or that idol as the faith and devotion of these barbarians (prescribe). So he immediately despatched to the celebrated idols of *Carnate*, to whose temple he had feigned a pilgrimage, and to the temple of *Rama* in the island of *Ramancor* and to that of *Jagarnate*,⁴ which is

² Congee, "In use all over India for the water in which rice has been boiled. The article being used as one of invalid diet, the word is sometimes applied to such slops generally. It is from the Tamil *Kanjī*, 'boilings'." (*Hobson Jobson*, p. 245.) *Kanjī* is seldom, if ever, used as an invalid diet in Bengal and it is generally served at breakfast in Hindu households at Goa.

³ Sanskrit *Langhana* from *laghi* to go; the act of leaping or jumping, crossing and traversing. Hence figuratively used, when a few days are passed without the accustomed diet. This word is still used in the same sense in Bengal.

⁴ Here also *Guarda* evidently refers to the *Siva* temple at *Rāmeswaram*. There are three images in the *Jagannath* temple at *Puri* in *Orissa* and if we add to them the *linga* at *Rāmeswaram*, we get *Guarda's* total. But

near Bengala, and to each of these four idols he sent two Bracmenes with large offerings to intercede with them and to enquire of them whether he would escape this illness. By the departure of the Bracmenes were divulged throughout [158] the territories of Sevagy the state he was in and the uncertainty of his improvement. All these caused a commotion and an ardent and strong feeling (of anxiety) mainly because he was universally loved. Leading men hastened to Rayaguer to salute and visit their master, and to none did he fail to give an audience, however brief, he consoled all and presented dresses and gave entertainments (regalos) to all of them and he exhorted them all to remain loyal to his son, for he deserved that they should love his progeny (posteridade). In this fashion he dismissed all, still sad but much encouraged.

if the idols in the temple, dedicated to Rama, were taken into consideration the total number would be more than four.

CHAPTER XX

DEATH OF SEVAGY AND THE DISPOSAL OF HIS TERRITORIES

Sevagy perceived in the countenance of the *Panditos* the sadness with which they attended him, and (feeling) in himself the lack of strength and vigour he realised that his end was near,¹ and resolved to dispose of his temporal affairs and of those touching his soul in the form, customary among the *Gentios*. He at once sent for his son [159] Sambagy,² (who was at that time twenty years old) to whom he made the following discourse in a manner as his weakness permitted. He recommended to him the good treatment of his subjects, [and he asked him] to favour, without any failure, all the deserving, and to learn with diligence the nature and circumstances of their crimes before punishing the culprits, and not to do anything in this respect on the first information, for if it was not easy to believe he should collect information so that he might not be deceived. That he should be prepared to listen not only to the great but even to the most humble, for he had often received better and sounder counsels from them, those of the nobles being seldom untainted by ambition and prejudice. That he should never be influenced by the rank of his subjects but he should keep his eye upon the work alone of everyone, for their deeds made those men from whom the nobles were descended, and there was no reason that descent from great men should be deemed a greater merit than to be a great man himself, moreover, this would oblige all to work well. [Sevagy continued] What I most recommend to you is that in no case should you have a favourite if you are to spare your subjects from jealousy, for in case of any discord if there is no partiality all will believe that you love them equally. Above all, I advise you to dread the gods,

¹ *Conheceo logo era tudo para elle acabado*, literally, knew at once that all was finished for him.

² Sambhaji was born in 1657 and was, therefore, twenty-three years old at the time of his father's death. He was at Panhala, near Kolhapur, when Shivaji died.

to venerate and frequent their temples with the utmost respect, and to make daily sacrifices to them so that they may assist you in everything (in all your affairs).” The discourse over, Sambagy made *salam* to his father in filial obedience and thanked him for the instruction which he promised to follow with care. Sevagy immediately ordered those who were waiting outside to enter and to salute Sambagy as their lawful sovereign which they all did with the demonstrations demanded by the love they had for his father. This done, and Sambagy being recognized as his father’s heir, Sevagy sent back all the Governors to their (respective) posts warning them to remember that he (Sevagy) would return to his present life and would then know how they behaved towards his son and the faithful would have his thanks as the traitors his displeasure. All responded to him with tears [161] and *salams* and thus they all departed. Sevagy remained alone with his uncle Neotagy to whom he spoke in the following manner: “My uncle you know well that I have just disposed of the affairs pertaining to this world. It is proper now that we should treat of the life to which all pass, for I expect that Rama and other gods will in their kindness grant me what I wish. It is on this account that I want to give you the following direction before my voice fails. While I am on the point of death you will bring to my presence the best milch cow you may find and you will put carefully its tail in my hand and I beg you earnestly that you will put the tail so securely that in the anguish of death I may not let it go, and this I very earnestly enjoin you, so that as soon as my soul gets out it may enter into the cool womb of that peaceful cow, for this will be the best omen and the best beginning of the new life which I expect when I return to this world. When my soul is separated from my body wash it thrice in rose water of Persia which you will find in abundance [162] in several big jars (*frascos*) that I took from that large Persian vessel which, driven by storm, entered the estuary of Betle.³ When the washing is over you will smear the whole of my body with white sandal and you will put in my mouth chewed betel (as is the custom of the Bracmenes),

³ The author probably means the Ratnagiri creek into which flows the Bhatiya River. Betle may also be identified with the Bedti or Gangāvali in the North Canara district.

for which purpose you will ask all who live in our lands to come, and as is their custom and as they use to do to the dead, you will dress me in new sheets and clothes, for if I go dressed like them the gods will not fail to recognize me and to treat me as one of themselves. From there I shall secure the return to the happiness of this agreeable (pleasant) world as a Bracmene, so that in this way I may best have my vengeance on the cruel Rayá for sending me a prisoner with the greatest treachery to the Great Mogol from whose cruelty and tyranny the gods saved me by their kindness. From them (gods) I expect to bring, when I return, authority to punish him as a perjurer and violator of the faith that he owed to his divinities. What Rayaputo (ever) did (what) he, a Prince among them, did to me? They are all faithful and true, he was a traitor [163] and a perjurer. I did not fail in anything I promised him, he failed in everything he promised without any respect to the gods, for he swore (by them), and then sold me for his interests to Oranzebe so that he might cut my head. But he will pay me with interest as soon as I arrive in the other world. Do not forget anything of this, for you will have to join me in my vengeance. When I expire, order my body to be adorned well and put it in a rich bed in which they will carry me to the fire in which they should put me with the same bed, and while they carry me and while the Bracmenes pray, as is the customs, make a pit in the middle of the plateau of this mountain,⁴ which you will fill with well dried fuel intermixed with timbers and sweet smelling woods, above which you will order to pour a large quantity of butter and then you will put the bed, in which I shall be with all decency and you will order to set fire on all sides. When the fire burns furiously do not forget to bring all my wives (he had eight hundred, this is against the religion of the Gentios which [164] permits only one)⁵ so that they may

⁴ Shivaji's body was cremated at Raigad. His *chhatra* or tomb is an unpretentious little structure. It was left uncared for and without repairs until recently.

⁵ The Tanjore temple inscription says that Shivaji had eight wives, but mentions only the following six names (1) Sai Bai, (2) Kashi Bai, (3) Sakwar Bai, (4) Putla Bai, (5) Saguna Bai and (6) Soyera Bai, (*Tanjavar Yethil Shilalekha*, p. 48). Mr. Kincaid says, "Shivaji was in all married seven times. His first wife, Saibai, was the daughter of Vithoji

throw themselves into that flame. I do not, however, like that you should compel any, for I do not require them to come to be burnt by force, I command you to inform them of this, as I expect and wish this courtesy (*fineza*) from those who love me most. In return for this, only those to whom I owe this good treatment will serve me when I come back to this world. When the cremation is over and the fire is extinguished you will search in the ashes for some small bones, if any remains, but in case none are found, you will take a quantity of ash sufficient to fill a big gold casket and putting it into a chest of silver that you will find near it you will close them both strongly and immediately take them with care and diligence to the river Ganges (which is more than four hundred leagues) away, and on your arrival at that holy and life giving river you will open the two chests and throwing first my ashes into the river you will leave the chests for those who enjoy the refreshment of those blessed waters. For the expenses of the journey you will liberally take from my treasury as much jewels and [165] money as you may please, so that you may go with all the

Mohite Newaskar. An affectionate and charming lady, she became by a curious freak of fortune, the mother of the headstrong and wayward Sambhaji. Happily for her, she died too soon to see her baby grow into a vicious and headstrong man. She bore also to Shivaji a daughter named Ambikabai, who was given in marriage to Harji Raje Mahadik of Tarale, appointed by the King to be governor of Jinji. Shivaji's second wife was Putali Bai. She bore him no children and faithful unto death, committed *sati* upon her husband's funeral pyre. Shivaji's third wife was Soyara Bai, a girl of the Shirke family. Beautiful, talented and politic, she was the mother of the brave and chivalrous Rajaram, the second founder of the Maratha empire. She had a daughter named Dipabai, who married a Maratha noble named Visajirao. Shivaji's fourth wife was Sakwar Bai, whose only daughter Kamalajabai became the wife of Tanoji Palkar, Shivaji's fifth wife Lakshmibai, had no issue. Shivaji's sixth wife, Saguna Bai, bore him a single daughter Nanibai, whom he gave in marriage to Ganoji Raje Shirke Malekar. His seventh wife Gunvanta Bai was childless," (Kincaid and Parasnis, *A History of the Maratha People*, Vol. I, pp. 277-78.) Mr. Kincaid's statement is based on the *Shedgavkar Bakhar*. Mr. Sardesai mentions only three wives in the genealogical table appended to the first volume of his *Marathi Riyasat*, viz., Sai Bai, Soyera Bai and Putla Bai. It is needless to point out that Hindu law neither insists on monogamy nor disapproves of polygamy, and Guarda's assertion that Shivaji had no less than eight hundred wives of whom a dozen performed *sati* is an unreliable and unfounded fiction.

pomp and comfort that you may desire. You know well, my beloved uncle, that the most trusted and beloved persons are sought for business of great importance, and therefore, I now entrust to you what is very important to me and in which I am most interested and from the affection you bear me I expect that you will fail me in nothing. I entrusted none of these to my son, for the care that is left him will most certainly not permit him to remember me more. But you brought me up, you counselled me and you followed me and you did all these with an affection that is known to the whole world, and so I expect that as you did in my life-time so will you do in the last thing that I beg of you, and rest assured that in this you will do me the greatest service and render the gods the most pious and devoted gratification (or service). Believe also that when I return (to the world), improved in caste, as I expect, I shall thank you for this favour more than all (other things) I owe you, for do not forget that if my ashes touch the sanctifying water of the holy Ganges within a very few days I shall be the conqueror of this world to [166] repay your great affection. Here is the nonsense that an intellect so great and clear as that of Sevagy begged and enjoined in his last hour. Whom will it not move to compassion? Who will not lament (at seeing) such blindness? Ah, how much he owes to God who drank the milk of the true faith from the purest breast of the church. The catholics, however, do not understand the immensity of this great benefit, for it cannot be realised. We shall now turn to Sevagy. With copious tears Neotagy listened to his nephew. He promised to comply with all his directions and afterwards executed it without any omission. Sevagy was to die in a few moments and he could not understand what Neotagy said. The eyes, the nose and face all showed signs of his proximity to death. When Neotagy saw this he at once began to execute his orders and directed to get a cow promptly. When the invalid lost his speech he was immediately put in a place where the cow could enter. This change caused an accident which all imagined was the last. As soon as the cow arrived near his head (cabeceira-head of the bed) they put [167] its tail in his hands keeping it in that manner so long as he did not expire. He was in this state for a long time but gaining consciousness and finding himself in that condition, he rejoiced very much

thanking Neotagy with his eyes for the diligence and care he showed for his soul which very shortly left for the eternal torments of hell where the unfortunate Sevagy learnt, but very late, the ridiculous imposition in which he believed. To their extreme bad taste the hypocrite Bracmenes began to make horrible shouts and roars which seemed to anticipate for him the hell where he would meet with similar noise. These shouts are sent forth to call Rama (idol, most venerated by him) so that he may accompany the soul of the deceased and for this purpose they are uttered. When Sevagy died, the Bracmenes at once began the washing as he had directed and put on him sandal and new clothes, all, according to the Bracmene way, with all the devices that distinguish them from other castes, for theirs is reputed the best [168]. They soon opened the pit where they put the body in the bed in which he had died, for that was the most precious, they set fire which, fed with a quantity of butter, consumed in an instant all that it met. Of all the wives he had, only twelve desired to accompany him in such a famous journey. They came out in great pomp, eating betel and dancing round the fire, and after a few turns jumped into the flame beginning the eternal fire in that material. When the funeral was finished Neotagy did not like to take anything from the treasury but, poorly dressed, in token of greater devotion, took the two chests and started on his way begging alms with which the gentiles help people in that condition. In this manner died Sevagy after so many tricks and wiles with which he made himself a great lord, and though they availed him much in this world even to the extent of saving his head while in the power of the Great Mogol, he cannot find any device to save himself from the sad destiny more potent and powerful than the greatest monarch, for it excuses none.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

- P. 33. Chandagora is probably Chandragad in the village of Dhavale, fifteen miles south-east of Mahad, in the Kolaba district.
- P. 61. Note 4. According to Thevenot, Shivaji was thirty-five years old in 1664 (see p. 141).
- P. 121. Terpassur and Trivablur. Guarda most likely means Tiruvallur in the Chingleput district. In Robert Orme's map (*War in Indostan*) we find a place called Tirpassur in the near neighbour-

hood of Tiruvallur. The importance of Tiruvallur "is due to its being the headquarters of the Ahobilam *math*, or religious house, the head of which is the high-priest of the Vadagalai section of Vaishnav Hindus." (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXIII, p. 399.)

THE HISTORY OF RAJA SIVAGY

By

Monsieur De Thevenot

THE HISTORY OF RAJA SIVAGY*

In January 1664 *Raja Sivagy* put the Customers and their Governor to a strange plunge ; and seeing, he is become famous by his actions, it will not be amiss, I think, to give a short History of him. This *Sivagy* is the son of a Captain of the King of *Visiapour*, and born at *Bassaim* being of a restless and turbulent Spirit, he rebelled in his Father's life-time, and putting himself at the head of several *Banditi*, and a great many debauched Young-Men, he made his part good in the Mountains of *Visiapour* against those that came to attack him, and could not be reduced. The King thinking that his Father kept intelligence with him, caused him to be arrested ; and he dying in Prison, *Sivagy* conceived so great a hatred against the King, that he used all endeavours to be revenged on him. In a very short time he plundered part of *Visiapour*, and with the Booty he took, made himself so strong in Men, Arms and Horses, that he found himself able enough to seize some towns, and to form a little state in spight of the King, who died at that time. The Queen, who was Regent having other Affairs in hand, did all she could to reduce *Sivagy* to duty ; but her endeavours being unsuccessful, she accepted of the Peace he proposed to her, after which she lived in quiet.

In the meanwhile, the *Raja*, who could not rest, plundered some places belonging to the *Great Mogul* ; which obliged that Emperor to send Forces against him under the conduct of *Chasta-Can* his Uncle, Governor of *Aurangeabad*. *Chasta-Can* having far more Forces than *Sivagy* had, vigorously pursued him, but the *Raja* having his retreat always in the Mountains, and being extremely cunning, the *Mogul* could make nothing of him.

However, that old Captain, at length thinking that the turbulent Spirit of *Sivagy* might make him take some false step,

* (The Travels of *Monsieur de Thevenot into the Indies*, Chap. XVI, 27-30.)

¹ *Shahaji* was arrested by *Mustafa Khan* near *Jinji* in 1648. He was released in 1649, in return of *Kondana* or *Sinhagad*, according to the *Jedhe Chronology*. He died of an accident while hunting in 1664.

judged it best to temporize, and lay a long while upon the Lands of the *Raja*. This Patience of *Chasta-Can* being very troublesome to *Sivagy*, he had his recourse to a *Stratagem*. He ordered one of his Captains to write to that *Mogul*, and to persuade him that he would come over to the service of the *Great Mogul*, and bring with him five hundred Men whom he had under his Command. *Chasta-Can* having received the letters, durst not trust them at first; but receiving continually more and more, and the Captain giving him such reasons for his discontent as looked very probable, he sent him word that he might come and bring his Men with him. No sooner was he come into the Camp of the *Moguls*, but he desired a Passport to go to the King that he might put himself into his service: But *Chasta-Can* thought it enough to put him in hopes of it, and kept him with him.

Sivagy had ordered him to do what he could to insinuate himself into the favour of *Chasta-Can*, and to spare no means that could bring that about, to shew upon all occasions the greatest rancour and animosity imaginable, and in a particular manner to be the first in Action against him or his Subjects. He failed not to obey him: he put all to Fire and Sword in the *Raja's* Lands, and did much more mischief than all the rest besides; which gained him full credit in the Mind of *Chasta-Can*, who at length made him Captain of his Guards. But he guarded him very ill, for having one Day sent word to *Sivagy*, that on a certain Night he should be upon guard at the General's Tent; the *Raja* came there with his men, and being introduced by his Captain, came to *Chasta-Can* who awaking flew to his Arms, and was wounded in the Hand; however, he made a shift to escape, but a son of his was killed, and *Sivagy* thinking that he had killed the General himself, gave the signal to retreat: He marched off with his Captain and all his horse in good order. He carried off the General's Treasure, and took his Daughter to whom he rendered all the Honour he could. He comanded his Men under rigorous pains, not to do her the least hurt, but on the contrary, to serve her with all respect; and being informed that her Father was alive, he sent him word. That if he would send the Summ which he demanded for her Ransom, he would send him back his Daughter safe and sound; which was punctually performed.

He wrote afterwards to *Chasta-Can* praying him to withdraw, and owned that the stratagem that had been practised was of his own contrivance; that he hatched a great many others for his ruine; and that if he drew not off out of his Lands, he should certainly lose his Life. *Chasta-Can* slighted not the Advice: He informed the King, that it was impossible to force *Sivagy* in the Mountains; that he could not undertake it, unless he resolved to ruine his Troops, and he received Orders from Court to draw off under pretext of a new Enterprize. *Sivagy*, in the mean time, was resolved to be revenged on the *Mogul* by any means whatsoever, provided it might be to his advantage; and knowing very well that the Town of *Surrat* was full of Riches, he took measures how he might plunder it: But that nobody might suspect his Design, he divided the Forces he had into two Camps; and seeing his Territories lie chiefly in the Mountains, upon the Road betwixt *Bassaim* and *Chaoul*, he pitched one Camp toward *Chaoul*, where he planted one of his Pavillions, and Posted another at the same time towards *Bassaim*; and having ordered his Commanders not to plunder, but on the contrary, to pay for all they had, he secretly disguised himself in the habit of a *Faquir*.^{1a} Thus he went to discover the most commodious ways that might lead him speedily to *Surrat*: He entered the Town to examine the places of it, and by that means had as much as he pleased to view it all over.

Being come back to his chief Camp, he ordered four thousand of his Men to follow him without noise, and the rest to remain encamped, and to make during his absence as much noise as if all were there, to the end none might suspect the enterprise he was about, but think he was still in one of his Camps. Everything was put in execution according to his orders. His march was secret enough, though he hastened it to surprise *Surrat*; and he came and Encamped near *Brampourgate*. To amuse the Governour who sent to him, he demanded guides under pretence of marching to another place; but the Governor without sending him any Answer, retired into the

^{1a} Fakir, "from Arabic *fakīr* (poor). Properly an indigent person, but specially, 'one poor in the sight of God,' applied to a Mahomedan religious mendicant, and then, loosely and inaccurately, to Hindu devotees and naked ascetics." (*Hobson Jobson*, p. 347.)

Fort with what he had of the greatest value, and sent for assistance on all hands. Most of the inhabitants in consternation forsook their Houses and fled into the Country. *Sivagy's* Men entered the Town and plundered it for the space of four days burning several Houses. None but the *English* and *Dutch* saved their quarters from the pillage, by the vigorous defence they made, and by means of the Cannon they planted, which *Sivagy* would not venture upon, having none of his own.

Nor durst he venture to attack the Castle neither, though he knew very well that the richest things they had were conveyed thither, and especially a great deal of ready Money. He was affraid that attack might cost him too much time, and that assistance coming in might make him leave the Plunder he had got in the Town, besides, the Castle being in a condition to make defence, he would not have come off so easily as he had done elsewhere. So that he marched off with the Wealth he got; And it is believed at *Surat* that this *Raja* carried away in Jewels, Gold and Silver, to the value of above thirty French Millions; for in the House of one *Banian* he found twenty two Pound weight of strung Pearls, besides a great quantity of others that were not as yet pierced.²

One may indeed wonder that so populous a Town should so patiently suffer itself to be plundered by a handful of Men; but the *Indians* for the most part are cowards. No sooner did *Sivagy* appear with his small body of Men, but all fled, some to the Country to save themselves at *Baroche*,^{2a} and others to the Castle, whither the Governor retreated with the first. And none but the Christians of Europe made good their Post and preserved themselves. All the rest of the Town was Plundered except the Monastery of the *Capucins*. When the Plunderers came to their Convent, they past it by, and had Orders from

² The anonymous author of *Relation ou Journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes Orientales*, who visited Surat in 1671 says that the Marathas took forty pounds of fine pearls and a quantity of gold chains and precious stones from one house only in 1670. He asserts that he got this information from the merchant robbed and another merchant named Sauson, who was still reckoned one of the wealthiest persons at Surat. (pp. 50-51.)

^{2a} A town of great antiquity on the Narmada in Gujarat. The original name was Bhrigukachchha or Bhrigukshetra of which modern Broach is probably a corruption. The town is mentioned in old inscriptions, and was known to the Greeks.

their General to do so, because the first day in the Evening, Father *Ambrose*, who was Superiour of it, being moved with compassion for the poor Christians living in *Surrat*, went to the *Raja* and spoke in their favour, praying him at least not to suffer any violence to be done to their Persons, *Sivagy* had a respect for him, took him into his protection, and granted what he had desired in favour of the Christians.³

The Great *Mogul* was sensibly affected with the Pillage of that Town, and the boldness of *Sivagy* ; but his Affairs not suffering him to pursue his revenge at that time, he dissembled his resentment and delayed it till another opportunity.

In the Year, One thousand six hundred sixty-six,⁴ *Auran-Zeb* resolved to dispatch him, that he might accomplish his design, made as if he approved what he had done, and praised it as the action of a brave Man, rejecting the blame upon the Governor of *Surrat*, who had not the courage to oppose him. He expressed himself thus to the other *Rajas* of Court amongst whom he knew *Sivagy* had great many Friends ; and told them that he esteemed that *Raja* for his Valour, and wished he might come to Court ; saying openly that he would take it as a pleasure if any would let him know so much. Nay he bid one of them write to him and gave his Royal word that he should receive no hurt ; that he might come with all security, that he forgot what was past, and that his Troops should be so well treated, that he should have no complain. Several *Rajas* wrote what the King had said, and made themselves in a manner sureties for the performance of his word : So that he made no difficulty to come to Court, and to bring his Son with him, having first ordered his Forces to be always upon their Guard,

³ Bernier also corroborates Thevenot. He writes, "I forgot to mention that during the pillage of *Sourate*, *Seva-Gi*, the Holy *Seva-Gi* respected the habitation of the Reverend Father *Ambrose*, the Capuchin missionary, 'The *Frankish* Padrys are good men,' he said, 'and shall not be molested.' He spared also the house of a deceased *Delale* or *Gentile* broker, of the *Dutch*, because assured that he had been very charitable while alive." (Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, pp. 188-189.) According to Tavernier this broker was a very charitable person and both Christians and non-Christians received alms from him.

⁴ This date is quite accurate. If the *Jedhe* Chronology is to be credited, Shivaji escaped from Agra in August, 1666.

under the command of an able Officer whom he left to head them.

At first he met with all imaginable caresses, but some Months after, perceiving a dryness in the King, he openly complained of it, and boldly told him, that he believed he had a mind to put him to death, though he was come on his Royal word to wait upon him, without any constraint or necessity that obliged him to it; but that His Majesty might know what Man he was, from *Chasta-Can* and the Governour of *Surrat*: That after all if he Perished, there were those who would revenge his death; and that hoping they would do so, he was resolved to die with his own hands, and drawing his dagger, made an attempt to kill himself, but was hindered and had Guards set upon him.

The King would have willingly put him to death, but he feared an insurrection of the *Rajas*. They already murmured at this usage notwithstanding the promise made to him; And all of them were so much the more concerned for him, that most part came only to court upon the Kings word. That consideration obliged *Auran-Zeb* treat him well, and to make much of his Son. He told him that it was never in his thoughts to have him put to death, and flattered him with the hopes of a good Government which he promised him, if he would go with him to *Candahar*,^{4a} which then he designed to Besiege. *Sivagy* pretended to consent, provided he might Command his own Forces. The King having granted him that he desired a Passport for their coming, and having got it, resolved to make use of it for withdrawing from Court. He, therefore, gave Orders to those whom he entrusted with that Pass-port, and whom he sent before under pretence of calling his Forces, to provide him Horses in certain places which he named to them, and they failed not to do it. When he thought it time to go meet them, he got himself and his Son both to be carried privately in Panniers to the River-side. So soon as they were over, they mounted Horses that were ready for them, and then he told the Waterman, that he might go and acquaint the King, that he

^{4a} A province of Afghanistan. Kandahar formed a constant subject of contest between the Safavi Kings of Persia and the Timurid Emperors of Delhi. Aurangzib and Dara were employed to recover it during Shah Jahan's reign.

had carried over *Raja Sivagy*. They Posted it day and night, finding always fresh Horses in the places he had appointed them to be brought to ; and they passed everywhere by virtue of the Kings Passport: But the Son unable to bear the fatigue of so hard Riding, died upon the Road.⁵ The *Raja* left Money to have his body honourably burnt, and arrived afterwards in good health in his own territories.

Auran-Zeb was extremely vexed at that escape. Many believed that it was but a false report, and that he was put to death ; but the truth soon was known. This *Raja* is short and tawny, with quick eyes that shew a great deal of wit. He eats but once a day commonly, and is in good health ; and when he Plundered *Surrat*, in the Year One thousand Six hundred and Sixty-four, he was but thirty-five years of Age.

⁵ Thevenot probably heard the rumour, deliberately spread by Shivaji, that his young son had succumbed to the hardships of the journey. According to the *Jedhe Chronology* Shivaji reached Rajgad with Sambhaji in November, 1666. But the Marathi Chronicles agree that Sambhaji was left at Muttra with the brothers Krishnajipant, Kashipant and Visajipant, relatives of Peshwa Moro Trimbak Pingle.

HISTORY OF SEVA-GY

By

Abbe Carre

HISTORY OF SEVA-GY

[49] In 1669¹ Surate was for the second time plundered by the army of Seva-gy, one of the greatest men the East has ever seen. In his courage, the rapidity of his conquests and his great qualities he does not ill resemble that great king of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus. The history of this Seva-gy, pertains in a way to that of Surate [50] and from what I have learnt during my voyages, nothing will be more appropriate for recital to our people who are born for war and more accustomed to fight than to trade.

After becoming the king Great Mogol and having placed on his head a crown that did not belong to him, Aurengzeb thought only of establishing his authority and of getting rid of all those he feared. He began exactly as do almost all the kings of the East. He shut his father in a castle for the rest of his days and took the lives of his two brothers, who to avenge the injustice he had done them, and pretending to release their father, must have put him to no indifferent embarrassment.

He then turned his thoughts [51] to war, not so much to extend the boundaries of his empire as to keep his subjects occupied at the commencement of his tyranny and make them submit to it by impoverishing them. There was also a *raison d'état*, sufficiently important though very unjust, and it appeared to him to be still stronger for his purpose in taking up arms.

The kingdoms of Golkonda, Visapour and Decan had entered into a league with a reciprocal promise of joining forces against their enemies as was done in Europe in ancient times, by the three great cities of Peloponnesus, Argos, Messene and Sparta. They maintained one another with all their power and this triple alliance had rendered them almost invincible. [52] Aurengzeb, who had formed a design of conquering these kingdoms, the grandeur of which was offending his pride and causing him some anxiety, made a grand levy of men and money throughout his state and sent a powerful army to the Decan

¹ 1670 is the correct date.

under the command of his uncle Cakestkam. The Decan, more exposed than the other (two) kingdoms, was seldom without armies and was continually attacked by the Mogol and defended by its neighbours. This was between these crowns a source of eternal war as we to-day find the Netherlands to be between the kings of France and Spain.

Cakestkam took the field and at the rumour of his approach the king of Visapour and Golkonda [53] took up arms. But the king of Visapour, whether from weakness or cowardice, seemed inclined to make up with the Mogol and forthwith become a tributary. He made this strange resolution without remembering that this would break up the league and ruin him through disunion. Seva-gy, the Prime Minister of the Prince, a personage dominating his master, was as usual present in the council when the king placed his plan before it and if he (Shivaji) had not spoken, as was his duty to do, the proposal would have been unanimously accepted. He fully perceived that flattery and a desire to please the king would quite suffice to approve so pernicious a resolution, at the same time he could easily see that the jealousy he inspired would turn [54] the opinion of the assembly in favour of the king and not of him, and that if the king was not obliged, nobody cared if all were lost. He urged all the reasons that the interest of the state, the glory of the Prince, the fidelity due to the allies, could suggest to him in support of his opinion, the emulation of his rivals rendered him more eloquent than he usually was. He spoke with great ability about the forces of the kingdom, the advantage of its situation, and the resources necessary for war. (He held) that the Mogol was not (so) strong (as) to be feared, and that whatever the sentiments followed by others, contrary to his desire, his own was to defend themselves. He did not know how to pay his court at the cost of the [55] glory of his master. "As to the rest," said he, "I propose nothing that I am not prepared to execute at the risk of my life, and I make bold (to assert) that with very few troops I shall arrest the progress of Cakestkam or chase him out of the kingdom."

All proved useless ; number prevailed over good sense and weakness over valour. It was resolved not to postpone the despatch of an envoy to the Mogol but in the meanwhile the preparations were to proceed under the guidance of ordinary com-

manders and under the orders of the king. The generals had realised that in a decisive engagement Seva-gy would be charged with the sole care of military affairs and, while he would earn honour, they would remain in oblivion and [56] obscurity. This was what made them controvert his opinion with all ardour. They introduced into their discussion touches which applied to him personally and which to the king had this meaning that Seva-gy aspired to greater things under the pretext of repelling the Mogol. In short, they preferred to expose their country to the disgrace of slavery to having it liberated ever by the hands of another.

Seva-gy left the council shocked at their disregard of reason but he was still more offended at the defiance meted out to him personally. Henceforth he thought only of vengeance and of establishing himself over those who believed themselves to be over him. He had nothing else in view but resentment [57] and did not even reflect upon the crime he was going to commit. He employed his skill and discrimination to discover among the people, whom fortune had attached to his person, men who would enlist in his cause, men who loved prospects or friendship more than duty, if alliance be called friendship, alliance which is not formed from virtue.

Seva-gy having made his choice and having enlisted a sufficiently large number of nobles in his intrigue, held aloof from the court on the plea of ill health and retired to his own lands there to devise some means of breaking forth with all success.

The departure of the minister displeased neither the king nor his favourites; they had been equally smarting under the superiority of his [58] genius. They felt relieved and paid no attention to the sequel. Seva-gy having assembled his partisans, seized a very strong citadel on the frontier of the kingdom near Decan and gave orders to march the troops that side. All the provinces were in commotion, and as grand levies were made the roads became full of soldiers rushing to join their regiments. This helped effectively to conceal his designs of revolt, and the troops of Seva-gy could not be distinguished from those of the king.

This lord, who was immensely wealthy, possessed among other qualities a liberality [59] verging on extravagance. He caused large sums of money to be distributed through his offi-

cers among the soldiers to secure better unity among them and to attach them all to his person. They swore, every one of them, to follow him wherever he would lead them. Loaded with wealth and full of hope about the future, these men had no difficulty in taking this oath. They promised more than what had been asked and added that they would serve him against their own king, a vain pledge that could bind only those who had no idea of law or government. He knew how to profit by the effect of presents and the good disposition of his army, and he decided to utilise it for an enterprise that would have seemed foolhardy [60] if it had not been justified by success. This was to attack in his own camp the commander of the Mogol troops who was entrenched very near Aurengabad,² the capital of Decan, where he was waging war. Seva-gy found a special pretext in the alliance formed between his master and the king of Decan. The desire of diverting the storm to help an allied prince revealed the courage and justice (underlying) of his enterprise. Indeed he needed only the order of the king of Visapour but on the other hand he himself felt pleased in carrying out an advice he had given and he drew upon the territories of Visapour all the forces of the Mogol who would not fail to wreak their vengeance. This prince (the Mogol) had no reason [61] to suspect that Seva-gy was not fighting under the orders of the king, his master, and he could not as yet be informed of the truth as he afterwards was. Before setting out, Seva-gy left in his fortress a garrison of old veteran soldiers and officers under a commander whose courage and fidelity he knew, thus securing a key to the kingdom of Visapour and a place of security where he could retire when necessary. He then drew towards Aurengabad with only six thousand lightly armed men and the best troops he had.

The Mogol general was very far from his army, in an ill-fortified camp and near a seraglio where he spent his time in love and [62] pleasure. The city blockaded and within sight of the huge army, he considered himself immune from insult. In the roads of the camp were seen only the eunuchs and slaves, the ministers of the general's pleasure. His treasures were not better guarded than his person. He had huge sums of gold and

² Aurangabad in the Nizam's dominion.

silver (coins) with which he provided the two things that demanded it most, war and debauchery. Seva-gy assembled his principal officers and when they had discovered the importance of his enterprise he apprised them of its feasibility and pointed out that it was easy for men like them to carry off Cakestkam with all his riches. He exaggerated the obligation which the king of Visapour, their common master, would owe them and the recompense [63] they must expect therefrom. For in the East, as among us, able men always know how to palliate the hardihood of their rebellions by misrepresenting the interest of the prince.

Near the camp of Cakestkam there was a small (but) very dense forest very suitable for feints of war. It was there that Seva-gy concealed his soldiers during daytime waiting for cool obscurity of night. Cakestkam was not upon his guard and although he had his sentinels placed, the example of the commander had spoilt the soldier and discipline was but little observed. It is true that couriers had reported that troops had been seen on the outskirts of the forest, but no suspicion was entertained thereof, in the belief that it might be the residence of some great lord of Indostan, who was repairing to the court of the Mogol.

Night came. Seva-gy, without noise and under cover of darkness, conducted his troops to the middle of the enemy's camp. The night was extremely dark and there was no moon. One can imagine the disorder that prevailed when all of a sudden these men, hitherto unperceived by any, flung themselves sword in hand upon whomsoever they met. Forthwith the air resounded with the cries of the unhappy ones who felt to have been assailed unawares, and with the increase of the noise the alarm of the camp spread to the town. The Governor of the town thought that the advanced guards had been attacked and the enemy was preparing for [65] a general assault. It was not known whether the besiegers or the besieged were most troubled. Both the parties considered themselves betrayed, and as the horrors of the night still more increased their suspicions there was nothing that was not imagined at that moment. The son of the general³ a young man of good countenance and great prospects,

³ The name of this young man was Abul Fath Khan.

who had, unfortunately come from the army the day before, to receive his father's orders, immediately mounted a horse and was ready to offer resistance. He behaved valiantly and with a band of men whom he found about him, gave a performance of mettle and fire, as could be expected of a brave young boy, little accustomed, however, to the chances of war. His ardour carried him too far and his virtue cost him [66] his life. He fell pierced with wounds, a pitiable sight that must have moved even those who had caused it. Others who had held back, abashed by the sense of having abandoned such a commander, tarried no longer when they saw him dead. His father, who was in his seraglio, learnt at that moment of the misfortune of his son and of his own, and there was weeping and wailing all-around. The women tore their hair and beat their faces surrounding a father rendered motionless by the magnitude of his affliction. At last the bravest (men in the army) hurried up and ranged themselves near his person, resolved to perish to the last, in order to prevent him from being captured, and they achieved their object by an obstinate defence.

The cause and the origin of the tumult were yet unknown. They did not know whether the enemies had come to surprise them or the army had risen against the general. To ascertain what it was, fire was lighted throughout the camp but their dismay redoubled when by the dim light of burning logs they recognised Seva-gy and the subjects of the king of Visapour. It was not suspected that all the soldiers of the king (of Bijapur) were not near and that they had not come to lay siege to the town after defeating the army. General Cakestkam was wounded during the tumult with two sword cuts and as it was necessary for him either to vanquish or to die, he performed deeds of extraordinary bravery. Day approached and they would have seen it clearly [68] if the light preceding it had not been obscured by the consumed logs. The rumour spread that the army of Visapour was on its march and its first ranks would soon be perceived. Seva-gy gave order for retreat, to avoid being overwhelmed, as he would surely have been if his enemies could discover the small number of his men. The battle order was so well preserved among his troops that, maddened as they were with killing and pillaging, they left off as soon as the command was issued and retreated in good order, loaded with spoils of

which however greater part they had to forego in obedience to orders. The density of the forest favoured their retreat, and the fright, they had left behind them, gave [69] them time to regain their posts before the break of day. They were in safety but those in the camp no longer considered themselves secure.

Seva-gy was not content with this success, which could only satisfy a less ambitious person. But it gave him little pleasure to have pillaged the camp and to have committed such a great carnage there with so few troops without any loss except that of some soldiers. He had wanted to capture the Mogol General and he believed he had accomplished nothing, for he had not been able to do what he wanted.

The second enterprise of Seva-gy was against Surate, which he caused to be pillaged by his army, with the object of enriching himself and to accustom his men to glory, [70] and if that had not sufficient force, to follow him at least in the expectation of spoils. He had not got much of the treasures of this opulent city to carry on the long wars in which his revolt and valour engaged him, yet he was not ignorant of the maxim of the seditious that once you rise against your lawful prince you are a rebel forever.

Surate was without any defence that could arrest (the attack of) an army. And the courage of its inhabitants certainly did not serve as ramparts. The merchants, who abounded in the place, had little experience of war and, intent on the preservation of their private merchandise only, could but feebly contribute to the smooth conduct of public affairs [71] that sometimes demanded the sacrifice of private interest. Besides many Indians in Surate had, owing to their ideas of morality which approached that of Pythagorus, so great a horror for bloodshed that they would not kill the meanest animal, far less massamre men, a very good sentiment if everybody shared it. It was in the following manner that Seva-gy conducted his enterprise.

He travelled only during night in order to conceal his movement and avoid heat. During daytime he retired to places hidden by the woods that sheltered him from the heat of the sun. There his soldiers reposed at ease and the horses refreshed themselves in the rivers, the banks whereof supplied them with abundant [72] forage and it entailed the soldiers no trouble or risk.

He was master of the country and soon appeared at the gates of Surate, and the only thought of the citizens now was how to guard against plunder. But the misfortune of the city was imminent. Being half a day's march from the town, Seva-gy had already made preparations, not for an attack on the bastions but for a signal of plunder. In assigning quarters he had made an exception (in favour) of the residences of the English, the Dutch and the Capuchin Fathers. The latter were exempted on account of the general regard for them as good religieux, and in order that he might not have the appearance of scorning popular respect for their persons. The rest (were excepted) because he knew that they were provided with fine cannons [73] and that there might be veteran soldiers in those houses. Besides, (he thought) it would be very easy (hereafter) to be allied with the Europeans trading in India of which, he foresaw there might be need one day.⁴ The French had as yet no establishment at Surate.

Everything being thus arranged Seva-gy advanced as far as the gardens on the environs of the city. The Governor had been informed hereof ; but he had so little suspicion of any one coming to attack him that Seva-gy managed to enter the place without any difficulty, for his soldiers did not outwardly look what they really were, as they were leading with them some beasts of burden with their arms hidden. Each of them knew where he should repair but they followed no order in their march [74]. People mistook them, as Cakestkam had done, for the retinue of some powerful Indian whose equipages were constantly seen moving in Surate, presenting among other things, the appear-

⁴ This is fairly corroborated by the Dutch account of the first sack of Surat. Shivaji had indeed sent a Greek named Nicholas Colosta to demand money of the Director of the Dutch company without specifying any sum but the latter answered "that there was very little money at the factory but that if a present of some spice would please Sivagy he was willing to give him same. The Director further charged the Greek to remind Sivagy that at Vingurla he had never troubled the company but rather shown him friendly by giving them free escorts and therefore he quite hoped Sivagy would protect the company's servants in Surat against the evil minded." It seems that no serious effort was made to molest the Dutch though they suspected that the houses in their neighbourhood had been set to fire with evil intention. Dutch Records, India Office Transcripts (English Translation, Vol. 27, DCCXIX).

ance of a whole army.

The soldiers had time to take their posts in (different) places of the city and on the big roads without being questioned by any inhabitant or stranger as to what they were doing and by whose authority. Seva-gy coolly gave his orders even as he liked, as if it were in a town that had already recognised his authority, and none came forward to oppose him. Meanwhile the tumult quickly spread on all sides. The signal was given and the soldiers commenced the pillage. All on a sudden they [75] fell upon whomsoever they found at hand irrespective of age or sex. They killed some of them while the rest fled away, carrying what they could and leaving to the avarice of the troops what they could not. Then they entered the houses, plundered them and placed their spoils on their horses and in the carts (chariots) they had brought for that purpose. There was no form of cruelty that they did not practise upon women and old people who had been detained in their lodgings through weakness or age. They wanted thereby to make them disclose where the rest of their treasures was concealed. The two governors could not but be pensive in their despair, their only care being how to hide themselves [76] and the more valuable things they possessed. They were swayed by their interest and avarice which made them override the dictates of duty. At last the governor of the castle opened artillery fire upon the town. He shot at random and if it was to a certain extent fraught with danger in regard to Seva-gy's soldiers, it rendered the destruction of the people of Surate most certain. The cannon demolished their houses and set them ablaze at the same time that the enemy despoiled them of their furniture and emptied their stores.

Seva-gy was on horseback, with a small number of officers watching the carts and laden horses to march to the place of rendezvous. The sack lasted for three days and three nights.⁵

⁵ According to the Dutch Records Shivaji entered Surat on Wednesday the 16th January, 1664 and the Dutch Factors learnt on the 20th that Shivaji had left with his plunder. Sir (then Professor) Jadu Nath Sarkar says that Shivaji arrived at Surat on the 6th January, 1664. (*Shivaji and his Times*, First edition, p. 110). This discrepancy is easily explained. The new style was adopted earlier on the continent and the English, on whose records Prof. Sarkar chiefly relied, still continued the old style of reckoning.

Seva-gy then left Surate [77] as easily as he had entered it, having found in one single city all the wealth of the East and securing such war funds as would not fail him for a long time. There remained only the preparations. His followers were obedient and Seva-gy soon made the East see in a rebel subject a conqueror worthy among other things of being compared to the greatest men. Hitherto he had himself commanded his army without the assistance of anyone, but as he wanted to augment (his forces) greatly, he appointed, besides himself, four Lieutenant Generals and gave them large sums of money, both for furnishing themselves with what they needed to maintain their rank and for distribution among their companies. He sent men to all sides [78] with money to enlist soldiers. Others he sent to watch the attitude of the Mogol and the king of Visapour. When he had mobilised a big army he did not hasten to attempt the things he had planned. He had among his troops many youngmen, novices still in the profession, whom he had collected from all sides. To accustom them (to their profession) he encamped for nearly three months in bare fields, teaching them how to handle horses and fight and training them carefully in all the exercises of the military art.

On the other hand the Mogol was offended by the affront that he supposed to have received from the king of Visapour. He could not make out whether Seva-gy had attacked him [79] of his own accord or by the order of his master. However, he entered the kingdom. He captured some places and gained some advantage in a few engagements. The troops of the king were very inferior in number and valour. The king of Golkonda came to the rescue of his ally with a powerful army and repelled the Mogol, who, however, did not lose his hope of revenge, though he found himself constrained to postpone his vengeance.

Seva-gy spent this time in occupying several places of Visapour and at last made the Mogol realise that he had acted on his own initiative in his attempt upon the person of Cakestkam. He entered the maritime towns, almost all of which he found unprovided, the [80] king having withdrawn his troops to wage war against the Mogol; the gates which could not have held long, were thrown open to him [Seva-gy] at the first report of his name, which was so great that resistance seemed useless, for resistance would do nothing but add to his glory. He selec-

ted the maritime places as they were easier to defend and more difficult to attack. Apart from the convenience of the ports and the freedom (they offered) of putting out to the sea, his further reflection was that by occupying the coast and treating well the Europeans who came to India he might make them love him and serve him.

In fact along the stretch of the sea where he was the master, there never passed a ship of Europe to which the governors did not send [81] refreshments with all the good offices that could hardly be expected by an allied prince. I passed that way in 1668 with two ships of the company and we were treated in a manner which was beyond our expectation. It was an act of his policy, but it was also due to the preference he felt for the people of Europe and above all for our nation, whom he held in esteem for the renown they everywhere enjoy as the most warlike nation in the world.

He captured several other towns, fortified by nature and by the hand of man and he made his way into places that were believed to be inaccessible. The forces of the king of Visapour being divided [82] were less capable of opposing such a conqueror, who had all the qualities of a great general and above all a clearness of resolution and an unusual activity that almost always prove decisive in affairs of war. Hardly had he won a battle or taken to town in one end of the kingdom than he was at the other extremity causing havoc everywhere and surprising important places. To this quickness of movement he added, like Julius Ceasar, a clemency and bounty that won him the hearts of those his arms had worsted. He made inroads into the territories of the Portuguese who had given him offence; he wrested from them the island of Bardes⁶ and after desolating the country [83] caused them great anxiety for Goa. He then retraced his steps, re-entered the country of the Mogol, subjugated a big province and levied large contributions and demonstrated to him (the Mogol) that he was able alone, without the help of Golkonda or Decan, to hold his own and further that he was about to cause an affront to the heart of his

⁶ Lakham Savant and other fugitives used to cause trouble to Shivaji's subjects from their safe retreat in the Portuguese territories and Shivaji sent a retaliatory expedition to Bardes in November 1667. (See Pissurlencar, *Portugueses e Māratas*, p. 17.)

states. If Seva-gy possessed military qualities to such a high degree he was no less a capable man knowing more than one way of reaching his goal.

He practised upon tradesmen and toiling merchants in such a way that during the different voyages they were obliged to make, they took care of speaking well of him, praising his method of governing and making [84] men's minds yield to it. He contrived it in such a way, all the more sure as it was imperceptible, that they spoke like disinterested persons. Then, on their advice he closely followed his reputation and did not allow the enthusiasm to cool down—an enthusiasm which so much propagandism had roused for him in the hearts of the people. By all these means Seva-gy reached such a degree of power that the Grand Mogol, apprehensive of (the loss of) his state, prepared himself as best as he could to wage a war against him. Aurengzeb recalled his uncle Cakestkam and loaded him with all the honours worthy of his rank and age, to console him for all that had happened to him and for the death of the young prince, his son. He gave him, [85] along with the Government of Bengale and the Office of General of the Army, the title of Viceroy over all the lands held by Emir Jumla, that famous Persian who had quitted the court of Golkonda, where he was held in high esteem, to be in the service of the Mogol who owed much to his prudence and his counsels. It meant an honourable retirement for Cakestkam and an occasion of putting in his place someone who had more vigour and greater firmness and was better fitted to resist the progress of Seva-gy whose valour, like a rushing torrent, carried every place he fell upon. He selected Jesseingue a powerful lord of his court, who had rendered him excellent services [86] in the affairs he was engaged in at beginning of his reign.

Jesseingue set out with instructions to retake the places Seva-gy had conquered from the Mogol. He had secret instructions among others to spare no pains to win over Seva-gy and to induce him to accept the command of the Mogol armies. Seva-gy marched straight to the front of Jesseingue to offer him battle. Jesseingue refused to fight. He knew how to conduct himself so as not to be forced easily. Jesseingue invested a strong town⁷ and when his work was sufficiently advanced he

⁷ Carré undoubtedly refers to the siege of Purandar by Dilel Khan.

laid siege with great military skill.

The defence of the besieged was so vigorous that the Mogol General despaired of reducing [87] the place and preferred entering into negotiations with Seva-gy to persisting any longer. He offered him on behalf of his master great honours and position if he would enter into his service. Seva-gy lent his ears to these proposals and entered into an agreement that placed him at the head of the Mogol forces and opened so grand a career to his valour.

His valour shone in the war he waged against the king of Visapour and if he had not stained his great deeds by the disgrace attached to his ruining the motherland, he would have deserved unbounded praise. The Mogol wanted to employ Seva-gy in the war he was preparing to wage against the king of Persia.^{7a} He [88] therefore invited him to come to his court, and to render his sojourn there more agreeable, he made him a *Raja*, the highest dignity to which the king could raise those he wished to honour. He also gave his son an office of distinction and placed him much above the young lords of his age.

Seva-gy appeared at the court of the Mogol with all the pomp and *eclat* befitting his rank and reputation, but he went there so well accustomed to honours and with such an air of nobility that he was regarded as a man much above his fortune. There was no kind of good treatment that he did not receive from the Prince. He was not (however) equally well regarded by everybody. Cakestkam was absent [89] from the court but there were his wife and a large number of followers who came either of their own accord or on purpose. These were the enemies Seva-gy had made the day he attempted to capture Cakestkam; the jealousy, common to great people, was aroused for him more than others and it irritated those very persons so furiously that they made a very serious intrigue to ruin him. The wife of Cakestkam, an arrogant princess by birth, considered herself bound by honour to pursue the murderer of her son, who had done her husband an egregious

^{7a} Aurangzib was guilty of some discourtesy to the ambassador of Shah Abbas II of Persia, and the Shah got an opportunity of retaliating when Aurangzib set an embassy to Persia. The Shah taunted the ambassador and practically challenged his master and a war was apprehended.

offence and had only missed killing him ; a man moreover, who had sacked the wealthiest and the most flourishing city of the Mogol. She was so near the king and had raised against Seva-gy so powerful a party [90] that they resolved to arrest him. The king desired to give this satisfaction to the afflicted friends of his uncle but he offered, according to his word and in view of the need that he had of Seva-gy, to open to him the means of escaping shortly after his imprisonment.⁸

These manoeuvres of the king hardly succeeded ; he pleased none by wishing to satisfy everybody. Seva-gy only felt the injury done to him and the party of Cakestkam deemed the flight of the prisoner very improper, the facility of which betrayed the king.

Seva-gy returned to his army, saw well that he could depend upon none for rest and conceived the idea of founding a lawful kingdom by force of brigandage. He heartily caressed [91] his officers whom he called his brothers and friends, living with them in familiarity and hoping for every distinction by their care without giving himself any. He conducted himself with great ability, affecting nothing, making others to propose things to which he appeared to be indifferent, but which he very fundamentally desired.

When he considered himself in a condition to expect everything from the good will of his men, he gave a splendid feast to his generals and when he had a good cheer, after having been in toasts of wine nominated king by some of his assistants, the army responded with acclamation and cries of joy. He was proclaimed king of all the lands he had conquered. The principal officers and the chiefs of the troops took the oath [92] of

⁸ Bernier also suggests that there was a widespread belief "that *Seva-gi* did not escape without the connivance of *Aurengzebe* himself." He also says "*Chahhestkan's* wife, a relation to *Aurengzebe's*, happened to be then at Court, and never ceased to urge the arrest of a man who had killed her son, wounded her husband, and sacked *Sourate*." (Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, pp. 190-191). For an accurate account of Shivaji's flight from Agra see Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. II, pp. 138-139.

Sabhasad refers to the persistent hostility of Shaistakhan's relatives during Shivaji's visit to the imperial court, and Fryer also says that "the outcries of the Women in whose Kindred's Blood his hands were imbrued, made him shift for himself in an Hamper on a Porter's Back."

fealty. He founded for himself a kingdom at the expense of the kings of Visapour, Decan and the Mogol. Tired of victory he wanted to secure his conquests by limiting them. The Mogol army was prepared to fight him ; he was short of money ; partly in different wars he had waged and partly in the court, he had exhausted his treasures. This is what made him resolve to plunder Surate for a second time. He took himself there in a manner different from before.

He, therefore, opened a transaction with the governor⁹ over a piece of intelligence and when an understanding was reached with him, he haughtily demanded of the city of Surate a sum of ten millions (threatening that) otherwise he would come himself to plunder it. What I have to say about this transaction [93] I have learnt from an officer who had no doubt about it, for he was in the service of the governor when this treason was plotted. Under this appearance of unreservedness and this very air of brutality, Seva-gy concealed his deceit and believed to have placed the governor in safety from the side of the court. But the traitor was punished for it and lost his life as we shall see anon. I shall not go into the details of this second enterprise ; suffice it to say, that having sent word to the inhabitants about the day and hour he would enter into Surate, Seva-gy exactly kept his word. He might have some twelve thousand men with him and it was astonishing how a town, sufficiently well fortified and inhabited by more than [94] four hundred thousand men, did not make the least resistance ; either terror had damped their spirit or so many people, differing so much in nationality and interests and so little used to arms, embarrassed one another sooner than rendering aid to one another and to the city. Seva-gy wanted to plunder at ease and he came to Surate to take booty and not to fight. He was at peace

⁹ Francis [François] Martin was at Surat in March 1670. He says that a second attack from Shivaji was apprehended at the time of his visit. The Governor consulted Monsieur Caron about the defence of the city which was open on one side, but did nothing to remove this defect ; and this led Martin to suspect that the Governor had a secret understanding with Shivaji—"le gouverneur men fit rien néanmoins l'on croit aussy qu'il avoit intelligences avec Sivagy." François Martin, *Memoir sur l'establissements des colonies Française des l'Inde Oriental* fol. 92, ob (A.N.T.* 1169).

with the governor. He sent an officer of his army^{9a} to the residences of the three nations of Europe he dreaded most, the French, the English and the Dutch and gave them a timely notice to display their standards on the top of their terraces that they may be saved thereby from the fury of the soldiers.

[95] We had been established at Surate only for a year. M. Carron,¹⁰ who was at the head of our merchants, showed that even in very advanced age, for he was seventy years old, he preserved courage and resolution. He thanked Seva-gy and caused thousand obliging things to be told him through the officer who had come to warn him to be on his guard; but he led him to the environs where the merchants of France had gathered and made him take note of the number of artillery that was quite ready to play and told him clearly that the quarters of the French were considered safe by means other than that of Seva-gy's clemency.¹¹

Seva-gy was at the gates of the town and the governor had climbed to their castle carrying there [96] some counsels befit-

^{9a} The Dutch Resident at Surat also wrote—"A messenger had come from the invader to assure us that no harm would befall us if we remained quiet." India Office Transcript, English Translation, Vol. 29, No. DCCLXIII.

¹⁰ Caron, a Dutch Protestant, was originally an employee of the Dutch East India Company. He possessed great experience of Indian trade. He left the service of his own country and was employed by Colbert as one of the principal officers of the newly organised French East India Company. Caron reached Surat in 1668, in 1670 he was appointed Director-General with almost unlimited authority. Prof. Paul Kaepelin attributes many of the blunders of De la Haye to Caron's deliberate misguidance. He died in May, 1673 of a shipwreck off Lisbon while returning from India. Prof. Kaepelin says of him: "His intelligence, experience and aptitude for discerning possible and profitable enterprises were incontestable, but he wanted to be the sole master, from the day he had to accept French colleagues he was lost to France." (*La Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, p. 97.)

¹¹ This is contradicted by the Dutch Resident who writes: "The French did not attempt to make any opposition although at that time they numbered 150 whites, had about a dozen cannons of fair calibre, 400 fire balls and a large number of grenades, and they quietly suffered that two of their black servants were shot before their eyes, notwithstanding by valuable present they had obtained from Shivaji's representative the declaration that they should be free from molestation." India Office, English Translation, Vol. 29, No. DCCLXXIII.

ting a traitor and calculated to bring about the success of his treachery. This was to demolish a wall that covered the march of Seva-gy and this gave Seva-gy great facility for making his troops file up. This was to open the town to Seva-gy and ensure the success of his plan under the pretext of firing upon him from the top of the fortress. It was intended to arm everyone but it was intended too late; the enemy was already in the town. The violence was extreme and no one was spared. Our French people behaved boldly and wore such a confident look that they saved their houses from pillage. They even compelled the soldiers to leave the neighbouring houses where they had been led by fury and avarice. [97] To judge by his bravery, M. Carron, even with the coolness of the Dutch, passed for a Frenchman.

The treason of the Governor of Surate having been reported, the Mogol resolved to get rid of him by poison, and in the same way as he had caused Jesseingue,¹² Governor of Decan, perish for the same reason, a means unworthy of Prince who exercises upon his subjects absolute right of punishment.

The Mogol has always near his person a large number of Faquiers who are called friends of God for making themselves friends of men and who conceal disgraceful sins under the mask of extraordinary piety. These Faquiers are skilful poisoners and their art is so fine that its effect is difficult to detect [98] until it is beyond remedy. They make extensive use of perfumes as things to be least refused and they knew how to put in a scented letter, or a boquet, or a fruit a poison that kills immediately.

It is the custom that when anybody is highly successful either in civil affairs or in war, the Mogol thanks him by letters and in felicity these letters are received with profound respect and grand ceremonies; before being opened they are placed upon the head, and to be kissed they are carried several times to

¹² Manucci brings the same charge against Aurangzeb when he says that "He (Jai Singh) was of great use to Aurangzeb, and as payment for his services that monarch caused him to be poisoned." (*Storia do Mogor*, Vol. II, p. 434.) "He ordered Jai Singh to return to Court, and on the road caused poison to be given to him, from which he died at Burhānpur." (*Storia*, Vol. II, p. 152.) Colonel Tod says that Jai Singh was poisoned by his son Kirat Singh (Tod, *Rajasthan*, ed. Crooke, Vol. III, p. 1340).

the mouth. Often the joy is not long. These letters suffused with a subtle poison mingle the tears with the pleasure of receiving them. The Mogol [99] addressed to the Governor of Surate such a letter impressed with a poison in which the most learned Faquier had exhausted all his skill. The Governor had assembled all his friends and the chiefs of the Europeans to receive this honour. He fell stiff dead in kissing the letter according to the custom of the country. Our surgeons who opened his head found without difficulty trace of poison. Judicious men made this reflection that this kind of penalty that befall only the person of the guilty and render the conduct of the Prince dubious lost the two great effects of punishment—viz., example and the precaution that it may not occur.¹³

Such is the history of Seva-gy, who, while we were at [100] Surate, made himself the subject of discussion throughout the whole of the East and rendered his name terrible to many a king who had experience of his arms or his intrigues which he conducted with equal skill.

¹³ Les personnes sensées firent cette reflexion, que cette sorte de punition n'allant qu'à la personne du coupable, perdoit les deux grands effects de la punition, qui sont l'exemple and la precaution pour l'avenir. Sir (then Babu) Jadu Nath Sarkar's translation of the above passage is as follows: "The sensible persons made that reflection, that the mode of punishment not going except to the persons of the guilty and rendering the conduct of the prince doubtful *produced* (!!!) the two great effects of the punishment, viz., the example and the precaution for the future." (*Bharat-Itihas-Sanshodhaka-Mandal-Swēya Granthmala, Serial No. 31 Historical Miscellany, p. 52.*)

**SEQUEL TO THE HISTORY
OF SEVA-GY**

**By
Abbe Carre**

SEQUEL TO THE HISTORY OF SEVA-GY

(Carré, Vol. II, pp. 1-85)

Those who have read in the first volume of this work what Sevagy did to raise himself to that height of power where he has remained ever since, will thank me [2] for continuing his history here, though the things I am going to relate, are, as have come to my knowledge in the course of another voyage that I made to the East, pertinent to another connection. I have broken in upon this course of writing in order to present to the reader, in continuation of the same book, the events that actually followed one another, lest he might not have the same pleasure in reading the conclusion, if he had lost the idea of the commencement.

Sevagy, having founded a kingdom in the manner I have related, had not a little to do to maintain himself in the rank to which his valour had raised him. The interest of the neighbouring kings roused [3] powerful adversaries against him and furnished him with new objects of victory or intrigue; for he was as capable of it as in handling arms, being ever prepared to fight or negotiate.

The king of Visapour, undaunted by the ill success of his previous enterprises, resolved to wage war against him. It is not known what moved him most, hatred or esteem. Romton Jamain, and old favourite of the king of Visapour, a man of wisdom¹ and a great warrior but selfish and avaricious, had withdrawn himself from the court and spent his life at Donquery, an important place, of which he was the Governor. This office with its immense emoluments formed the reward of the great services he had rendered to the king. This noble man [4] dreamt but little of emerging from the repose that age had begun to demand of him, and he only sought a permanent leisure, honourable to a person like him, when words were sent

¹ "Romton Jamain ancien favori du Roy de Visapour, homme de tête et grand guerrier." Sir (then Babu) Jadu Nath Sarkar's rendering of *homme de tête* in this passage (*Bharat-Itihas Sanshodhaka-Mandal-Swēya Granthmala*, Serial No. 31, *Historical Miscellany*, p. 52) as "a head-man" is certainly original!

to him on behalf of the king, that he had been selected general of a big army, to check the conquests of Sevagy. He was roused at the name of Sevagy; and reviving all his qualities, he was soon in a condition to oppose him (Sevagy) by open force; but he was not proof against his (Sevagy's) practices, and love of wealth rendered all his great qualities useless to him.

Sevagy, rather to spare the blood of his new subjects, than from any fear of Romton Jamain, employed stratagem, being [5] quite up to it, whenever he liked. He had in his army an old officer related to Romton, who had consummated more than one important negotiation. It was to him that Sevagy entrusted this matter, and having given him instructions, he sent him to the enemy camp which was not far off from his own. He had purposely let the enemy approach, to (be able to) engage his vanguard among the hills where the cavalry must suffer a serious scarcity of forage, and he (Sevagy) had thereby a better bargain for his (Romton's) fidelity. The intrigue was in able hands: The captain performed his task like a wily man who was a great master in the art of controlling men's minds. He brought matters to (such) a point that Romton and Sevagy had a private conference [6] in a secret place about which they were agreed. It was here that Sevagy accomplished what his minister had begun so well. He ably pointed out to his adversary, the impossibility that there was in the designs of the king of Visapour and by this very means imperceptably raised the difficulties that confront an honest man when it is a matter of his glory being sacrificed to his interest: besides, he promised him a sum of thirty thousand pagodes, these are pieces of gold which may be worth seven to eight *francs* of our money. For Romton Jamain this offer served as a potent argument. He succumbed; and very soon (afterwards) under different pretexts which traitors never lack, he made his army retreat, representing it to his [7] Prince as something great that he had been able to bring back (the army) entire from the straits in which misfortune had entangled him, and that he had made a good retreat.

This intrigue caused some noise in spite of the precautions that had been taken to keep it secret. The enemies of Romton very soon informed the king of it, and he was given such evident proofs thereof, that he could not doubt it though he was inclined not to believe anything. Nevertheless, to make an

example and to teach the generals of the army what they owed to their office and to the state, he caused Romton Jamain, whom he had induced to come to the court on the pretext of discussing with him affairs of the war, to be decapitated. However, as the king had [8] liked him very much, he wanted to leave to his family a part of his functions, among others the government of Donquery which he (the king) gave to his son with less power, however, than his father had in that office.

In 1672 I passed through Donquery and I received from this young noble all the marks of extraordinary kindness; he wished that I should dine with him, and he appeared to me to possess much intelligence and politeness.

Abdelkam was then ordered to take the place of Romton Jamain, and had direction to go in search of Sevagy, wherever he might be, and fight him. Abdelkam was the son of one of the greatest nobles of the kingdom, who after having cut the greatest [9] figure that a private person could, spent his old age in his government in the beautiful edifices, the monuments of his magnificence, which he carried to an excess. Abdelkam possessed all his father's tastes for splendour, but he added to it a furious passion for women. Sevagy and he shared the favour of the king of Visapour for a long time. Sevagy was all powerful in the council, the prince entrusted to Abdelkam the care of foreign affairs and those of war.

The revolt of Sevagy having separated them, Abdelkam obtained permission to retire. He shut himself in his seraglio and had no other thought but that of seeking the most lovely women of the world to fill it with. He [10] had got together two hundred (of them), all of whom could vie with one another for the prize of beauty: but this very beauty which had made them the slaves of the pleasures of a wretch, was the cause of their final misfortune.

In this situation Abdelkam weighed in his mind whether he should accept the Office of the Commander-in-Chief which they came to offer him: he decided to do so against his will, and prepared to march against Sevagy, who, always at the head of his troops, was insensible to voluptuousness.

When Abdelkam was on the point of starting and when it was necessary for him to leave his ladies, his jealousy was kindled to such a violence that he could master it no more and

it inspired in him the darkest designs which a man is capable of. He shut himself for eight days [11] in his seraglio, spending the whole of this time in feasts and pleasures. The end was tragic; for, to spare himself all the anxieties which love causes he had these two hundred unfortunate women daggered in his presence, who were far from expecting to receive such a treatment.²

After such a good beginning, he left for the army, breathing only blood and slaughter. The report of this barbarity did not take long to spread and there was none who was not struck with horror. This was the reason why Sevagy gave his ears to the discourse of some of his generals who advised him to assassinate Abdelkam, on the pretext of an interview that he should ask of him at the time [12] when the two armies should be on the point of fighting. They represented to him that Abdelkam being accused of the horror of an action so dark as that of having caused two hundred women to be slaughtered, whose sex should have been a protection against his fury even if no other consideration had guaranteed it to them, the world would be

² There is a local tradition that before Abdul Khan, better known as Afzal Khan, left his palace at Afzalpur, a suburb of Bijapur, the ladies of his seraglio were all put to death. Carré probably heard this story during his sojourn in that city. "Some little distance off (the village of Afzalpur) is the family burial ground of Afzal Khan, to which a curious story belongs. On a broad platform stretching along one side of what was once a large masonry pond or well, but which is now silted and embowered in mango and tamarind trees, are rows of tombs, all very closely alike. Examination shows from the device carved on their tops that these are all women's tombs and that they are ranged in eleven rows of seven tombs each. All are of the same size and shape and the same distance apart, except one on the north-west corner which is a little larger. The Bijapur story of these tombs is that when in 1659, Afzal Khan volunteered to lead the fatal expedition against Shivaji the astrologers warned him that he would never return. On the strength of this warning he set his house in order by drowning his seventyseven wives in the palace-pond, burying their bodies in the pond bank, and adorning their graves with rows of neat tombs. The story may be false; there are no means of testing its truth. Still it is strange to find so many tombs of precisely the same pattern apparently of the same age, in what was originally a part of the private grounds of Afzal Khan's palace." (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXIII, p. 578.)

delighted to see him perish in his turn and they would gladly see him fall unawares to the hand that would strike him. They pressed forward other arguments to palliate this crime. Sevagy yielded to their discourse: besides, having once, by the worst of all crimes, revolted against his lawful king, murder was but a thing he was not to be frightened by.

The opportunity for executing his project [13] offered itself very soon: the two armies found themselves confronted, and the commanders who passed from rank to rank had already commenced to stir up the spirit of the soldier by reproaches and laudings. Sevagy sent a herald to propose to Abdelkam that he should advance alone at the head of his army to confer with Sevagy, who would do as much on his part: for greater security, he even offered to abandon his arms, provided that Abdelkam should be pleased to cast away his.

Abdelkam accepted the offer, and by an egregious indiscretion, advanced alone, relying solely upon the word of Sevagy. It is true that he had always known him as a man of integrity and he had never [14] imagined him capable of failing in his promise.

Sevagy, however, had a dagger concealed under his vest and he was firmly resolved to use it and thereby finish a war which would otherwise have lasted long and the success of which was doubtful.

When they came quite close to each other, Sevagy began the conversation; and as if he thought only of winning him over to his rebellion, he spoke to him of their old friendship, and he told him that to fight against one another would be to violate the laws of amity: then changing his demeanour all of a sudden he drew out his dagger and stabbed him on the chest. "Hold!" said he, "there's what they deserve, who sully their lives by heinous crimes; those who like thee violate all [15] the natural laws should not have any share in the privileges of the law of men."

Sevagy withdrew to his men who at once fell furiously upon the army of Abdelkam, which was utterly dismayed by the death of the general. He cut into pieces one part (of the army) and the other surrendered at discretion. He made the best troops take the oath (of allegiance) and enlarged his (army). The body of Abdelkam, clothed in the richest garments, was

carried by Sevagy's orders to the neighboring town,³ where he was regretted by none.

Thus ended this second enterprise of the king of Visapour, and Sevagy got ready for yet other business. I remember that in 1673 in the course of a journey which I made by land from Surate [16] to Saint Thomé,⁴ I remained at Abdelpour of which Abdelkam was the governor at the time of his assassination. I went to see the palace: I found there a large number of workmen occupied in cutting stones to be used for the mausoleum of Abdelkam; and I was surprised how in the epitaph mention was made of the ladies of the seraglio whom he had caused to be butchered.

Sevagy, with the new reinforcement of troops with which he had enlarged his army, did not lose any time. He advanced into the kingdom of Visapour and took possession of many big undefended places which were in the heart of the kingdom.

³ The Khan's severed head was carried to the neighbouring fort of Pratapgad and buried there. A tower was later built on the spot and was named *Afzal Buruz*. "And the Rāje went quickly to the fort above, with Jiū Mahālā and Sambhājī Kavjī Mahāldār, carrying with him the Khān's head." (Sen, *Siva Chhatrapati*, p. 22.) A contemporary ballad writer thus sang of the incident:

They dropp'd the stately palki,
And wild with wounds they fled ;
While Shiwaji approach'd the Khan,
And straight smote off his head ;
He bore it to Bhowani,
Most like a conqu'ring king.
Hearken, Maratha princes,
His glorious state I sing.
To her, the world's great mother,
In Pertapghur that dwelt,
And bore him through victorious,
He offer'd it and knelt ;
'Receive my gift, O mother,
'This goat of goodly frame ;
'His teeth are as the teeth of men,
'And Abdul is his name.'

(Acworth, *Ballads of the Marathas*, p. 12 ; for the original Marathi ballad see Acworth and Shaligram, *Aitihāsik Povade*, 2nd edition, p. 18-19.)

⁴ San Thomé, near Madras, so called after St. Thomas who, according to Christian traditions suffered martyrdom at Mailapur. Mailapur or San Thomé was one of the earliest Portuguese settlements on that coast.

He posted governors there, and disposed of everything according to his liking with such clemency [17] and generosity in the newly conquered country that the very men, whom he had come to conquer by force of arms, willingly submitted to him. He then selected the most beautiful country, most abundant in forage, for encamping his army there and giving it at the same time both leisure and convenience for refreshing itself.

He spent his time in thinking of new projects, as great and glorious as the previous ones. He conferred hereon with his generals in order that in the end they might have more heart for the execution of the measures they had approved. He laid bare his thoughts to them, and pointed out to them that glory was calling him from the quarter of Cambaye and Guzaratte,⁵ that the towns of Visapour which he had [18] reduced would furnish the expenses of the war, while he should expand his conquest in another direction. The indolence of many great nobles of the Decan, who lived in their lands like so many petty sovereigns, also made him dream of carrying his arms to that very quarter.

To understand better what I am going to say, it is necessary to retrace things to an earlier date. The kingdom of the Decan never had more splendour than about the year 1500. It was in such an eclat that, unable further to exalt itself, it could only decline every day and fall at last as it did. For the greatest nobles and those who filled the most important administrations of the state conspired [19] together, and agreed that each should make himself independent on his part, after making away, by an infamous treason, with the person of their sovereign.⁶ Thus, the forces of the kingdom, being dis-jointed, were less capable of resisting the enterprises of Sevagy against whom nothing had held out till then.

He divided his troops to attack these different Princes simultaneously, so that they might not help one another, each

⁵ Surat is in Gujarat and Shivaji's raids into that province had commenced much earlier.

⁶ Carré evidently refers to the division of the Bahmani Kingdom, by five of its principal officers, Yusuf Adil Shah, Akimad Nizam Shah, Quli Qutb Shah, Fattaullah Imad Shah and Amir Qasim Barid. The Bahmani dynasty continued its nominal existence till the third decade of the sixteenth century, but the split had actually taken place about 1490 A.D.

being sufficiently occupied in defending his own state. He formed a body of ten thousand of the bravest of (his) men, and placed his son at their head. He was a young Prince, full of courage and worthy of his father's reputation. He had accompanied him in the course of his conquests and had been trained under so good a [20] master in the profession of war, wherein he could vie with the oldest captains. He was well built, and his beauty made his virtue still more bright and loveable. His soldiers regarded him as much as Sevagy himself and made no difference between the father and the son. They liked to fight under the latter and took pleasure in according to him the honour for all that was accomplished. Likewise, was he impressed with merit, and a deed of bravery done in his presence was never a merit lost.

He had orders to invade the kingdom of Cambay and that of Guzratte: and perceiving that his father had entrusted to him so important an enterprise [21] he was inspired with new valour and advanced with his army to signalise his first exploits. The terror of his name had already vanquished those whom he went to attack: he found things very easy for his glory; and in a trice he rendered a very big country tributary. They spoke only of the young prince and his father might look upon him with jealousy, if great spirits were capable of that passion. Sevagy formed a second corps of army under the command of one of his oldest generals, a man who, besides the military qualities which he possessed to a high degree, had great judgment and genius for business. He was sent into the country in the neighbourhood of the Mallabarri coast [22] from Chaoul to a day's journey from Surate, with orders to attack the numerous petty sovereigns, who, considering themselves safe on account of the situation of these places, believed that they were guarded against all attacks and did not recognise any one superior to themselves.

In short neither the Mogol nor any other power had till then attempted to subjugate them on account of the difficulty of the road and their ignorance of the country, which was entirely covered with forests. I have more than once passed through this region; and seeing all these princes, whose states are divided into woods or rivulets, whose soldiers, moreover, are only either foreigners or men picked up in the mountains it

seemed to me that there was a [23] great resemblance between this country and Italy, such as it is to-day, divided between so many different states and princes.

This general of the army, who was put at the head of this expedition, found more resistance than the young prince had on his side. Moreover, he had to fight in a country where it was so inconvenient to manoeuvre troops that it was necessary to overcome nature before fighting men. There were only fortified castles everywhere in the midst of the forests, where hills of immense thickness served for defence:^{6a} at every step they came across rivers or torrents that arrested man and horse, without the commander's having any knowledge of these places. He did not lose courage [24] in spite of all these difficulties, and in three campaigns he subjected to Sevagy all the petty sovereigns who, in a country, hardly a hundred league (in extent) had recognised none superior to themselves.

The fortune of his master attended him in all the battles he fought: but completely subdued as they were, they did not cease to annoy and harass Sevagy's general. Three or four of the bravest among them and those who could bear the burden of war better on account of their wealth, were surprised to find themselves subjugated with their neighbours, in a country which seemed inaccessible, and that by a (mere) platoon of enemies; they then formed the design of fighting for their liberty which they had just lost [25] with a little resistance: they began by putting in safety what they had been able to preserve and forming a league among themselves, they took the field, supported by many thousands of men. Their plan was not to fight but to draw the enemy general into the defiles where they doubted not that they would make a bargain out of it.

This ruse succeeded at first, and this general, a great warrior, has since declared that he never fought with so much

^{6a} Ce n'étoit par tout que chateaux fortifiez au milieu des forêts, où les roches d'une grosseur demesurée servoient de défense: Sir (then Babu) Jadu Nath Sarkar translated this passage thus: "It was not everywhere that fortified castles in the midst of forests or rocks of measureless hugeness served as their defence". (*Bharat-Itihas-Sanshodhaka-Mandal Swēya Granthmala*, Serial No. 31, *Historical Miscellany*, p. 59.) Every beginner knows that *ne*, when followed by *que*, does not convey a negative meaning.

risk. However, he formed his army into several detachments, to proceed through lonely paths to attack the enemy, cutting down woods and levelling the roads; all this was executed with so much diligence and courage that [26] nothing could arrest the course of his conquests. Governors were posted in the places conquered, where excellent garrisons were stationed and the victorious army returned to Sevagy, prepared for new victories.

The Portuguese profited by the defeat of these kings for having given them shelter after the conquest of Sevagy, and having accorded them a treatment befitting their rank, they (the Portuguese) were excused from paying a heavy sum of money that they had agreed to give them every year, for an undertaking from them that they should stop the raids of their subjects,^{6b} particularly during the season when the Portuguese made their harvest of all kinds of fruits and gathered [27] provisions, the sale of which has made them so rich.⁷ I passed through

^{6b} Carré undoubtedly refers to Moropant's conquest of Jawhar and Ramnagar in 1672. According to the Jedhe Chronology, Vikram Shah of Jawhar fled to the Moghul territories and the Raja of Ramnagar (present Dharampur state in the Surat Agency) sought shelter at Daman. This prince was styled as Chauthia by the Portuguese, because he had undertaken to protect the Portuguese territories under the jurisdiction of Daman from the depredations of his unruly subjects in lieu of a contribution, called Chauth, which was regularly paid to him. A number of treaties and agreements on this subject has been published by Judice Biker in his monumental collection of *Tratados da India*, and an exhaustive account of the origin of Chauth as well as the arrangement between the Portuguese Government of Daman and the Raja of Ramnagar will be found in the present writer's *Military System of the Marathas* (Chapter II).

⁷ "Les Portugais gagnerent á la défaite de ces Rois ; car les ayant reçûs chez eux après la conquête de Seva-gy, and leur ayant fait un traitement convenable á leur rang, ils furent déchargez de payer une grosse somme d'argent qu'ils étoient convenus de leur donner tous les anns, pour obtenir d'eux qu'ils arrêtaissent les courses de leurs sujets, surtout dans les terms que les Portugais faisoient leur recolte de toutes sortes de fruits, et qu'ils amassoient les denrées dont le debit les a rendu si riches." Sir (then Babu) Jadu Nath Sarkar translated the above passage as follows: "The Portuguese gained by the defeat of these kings ; because they having received the latter among themselves after the conquest by Shivaji and having given them a treatment suited to their rank, they were discharged from the payment of a large sum of money which they had agreed to give them every year, for obtaining from them (the

Daman,⁸ a place which belonged to the Portuguese, at the time when these things happened, and I was a witness of what I am going to relate.

Sevagy, who had realised that one of the principal means that these kings, whom he had just conquered, had for supporting their state, consisted of the contributions of the Portuguese, wanted to keep them for his governors on the pretext that they would take care to prevent the brigandage that those of the country had been accustomed to commit. He then sent an embassy to Daman, and to do honour to his ambassador he caused him to be accompanied by a large body of cavalry, which [28] marched rather in order of battle than as an appendage of a ceremony.

A rumour at once spread in Daman that Sevagy's army was marching against the town, and the rumour, supported by that of his latest conquests, threw the town into such a commotion that the inhabitants did not know what resolution to take. The council immediately met at the house of the Governor, and in the belief that Sevagy sent (his envoy) to demand the kings to whom the Portuguese had given an asylum, some (councillors) advised to surrender them in contradiction to the faith of the treaties made with them, others, more honest men but as little courageous as the former, said that they must be embarked with all their [29] most precious belongings and take flight; otherwise they would never escape from the power of Sevagy, before whom the whole Orient trembled; there were some who wished that they should defend themselves fiercely, that at the approach of the troops the posts should be filled with advanced guards, and that soldiers should be made to appear on the fortifications who would offer the enemy a confi-

undertaking) that they would stop the *flight* of their subjects, above all at the time when the Portuguese made their harvest of all sorts of fruit and gathered the provisions of which the sale made them so rich." (*Bharat-Itihas-Sanshodhaka-Mandala-Swēēya Granthmala*, Serial No. 31, *Historical Miscellany*, p. 60.) The "Gibbon of India" does himself little justice, as the translation betrays a regrettable lack of care and obvious ignorance of historical facts.

⁸ Daman, a town in Gujarat, about 100 miles from Bombay. In 1558 it was permanently occupied by the Portuguese. It now forms a district for administrative purpose and is ruled by a Governor, subordinate to the Governor-General of Portuguese India.

dent look.

They came out of the council without deciding anything; so, each acted according to the opinion he had (formed), the port was found in a moment filled with people who were busy embarking their best effects; others hastened to move the cannons and pieces of artillery: I decided to follow one of the principal [30] officers for reconnoitering better the forces the Portuguese had in that place. Everything was in an extreme disorder: the cannons were found for the most part dismounted, (and) entangled in brambles whence many horses could not pull them (out). The ramparts were very weak or destroyed during the previous wars, and the inhabitants unaccustomed to fight had neither powder nor shot with them. They ran in a throng to the castle, there was in it no room for (even) one-third of those who demanded it, and the disorder increased in proportion as they realised the bad condition of the place.

Meanwhile the so-called army of Sevagy approached, and already the ambassador with all his escorts [31] had stopped in front of one of the suburbs, demanding that the doors should be opened to him. They were far from doing it, as fear having united everybody in the same opinion, they thought, on every side, only of fortifying themselves. The ambassador perceived, from their refusal to let him enter, that the town had taken up arms on the report of his coming, believing to see in his person Sevagy himself. He at once sent a trumpeter to tell the commandant that he did not come as an enemy, nor for causing any injury to the Portuguese, that he had a few words to convey to the governor on behalf of Sevagy who wanted to live with them on good terms and that he wanted to speak to him.

[32] The governor received the ambassador and, out of fear, granted all that was demanded of him with respect to the money the Portuguese were accustomed to pay to spare themselves the injury that otherwise their neighbours would not have failed to cause.

What I have just said may give an idea of the condition of the Portuguese in the Orient to-day. It will be understood still better from the description of Daman that I am going to give, having taken care to observe everything and spent there a part of the year 1672. [From the bottom of p. 32 to the bottom of p. 37 is given a description of Daman, which was defended

by a strong wall, 12 to 15 paces in thickness, and fortified by all the arts of engineering. The wet ditch, which needed constant attention, however, had gradually deteriorated, and everything was in decay and disorder.]

[37] While the son of Sevagy and his generals worked to extend the boundaries of his kingdom, and everything prospered with them in the manner as I have just related, Sevagy on his part was not sleeping and [38] never forgot to make the design that he had against the Decan succeed. He began by siezing less important places and then hurled himself upon extensive territories and castles, which by the death of Jessingue, had passed to the son of that unlucky man with the consent of Aurelgzeb against the ordinary (practice).⁹ It was on that account that he invaded the Decan and this expedition did not cost him much; his presence sufficed to cause the places to be surrendered to him by the governors, who wanted to make a merit of a thing to which they would have been very soon forced if they had refused it.

It is necessary to know that after the death of Jesseingue, which came about as I have related earlier, the Mogol kept his son at [39] the court with the pensions and the same honours that his father had possessed there while he was alive, because he had some designs about these important places which otherwise would have belonged to the king of the Decan.

It was not enough for Sevagy to have made progress that way; he contrived, moreover, to win over to his side two powerful governors of provinces; he loaded them with presents and made an agreement with them which included an offensive and defensive alliance, for reciprocally helping one another or for attacking those whose excessively great power would inconvenience them: Sevagy did not go further into the Decan: on the other hand, finding that his lieutenants had subjugated for him the entire country stretching from [40] Daman to the port of Chaoul, he took with him an army corps and went in person to conquer the rest of the country, that is to say, the whole

⁹ An ordinary Mansabdar could not legally leave his property to his children or relatives, the state inherited everything. But Jai Singh was a feudatory ruler and was succeeded by his son Ram Singh in the Government of his hereditary principality. His office in the Deccan was not conferred on his son, nor did the latter hold any castle or *jahgir* there.

place from Goa to Chaoul.

It was there that by a single blow, so to say, he knocked out immense wealth, and also made himself master of a number of very fine towns, which had become very opulent through trade. He left good garrison in the newly conquered (places), with governors of proved courage, who had for the most part fought under him in all the places where he had carried on war.

[From p. 40 to p. 45 (top) Carré gives an account of Chaoul where he was in 1673 longer than usual, as he explains, by an accident.]

[54] For Sevagy had made himself master of the old town of Chaoul, having chased away those of the Portuguese¹⁰ who were there, and having placed there a governor and some officers who also served to hold the neighbouring country to his allegiance. This old town of Chaoul is much bigger than the new, but it is not so regularly built nor so well fortified. The majority of the inhabitants are idolaters, others are Mahometans, the Portuguese having no longer any pretensions there since Sevagy had by force of arms rendered himself master of it. Though the town is about two leagues away from the sea, it is not less suited for commerce, as it is watered by two rivers which bring fertility to the soil and at the same time facilitate trafficking in merchandise. The merchants also of this place are very rich and live in great opulence. I have fully learnt in course of my visit to the outskirts of old Chaoul, how embarrassed the Portuguese of the new (city) are; only their gardens and their houses, some fields with several miles of wall where they may be safe, are left to them, the rest of the country being filled with the subjects of Sevagy who have no liking for the Portuguese, and who do not fail [56] to cause them injury on all occasions. What obliged me to pay a visit to king Sevagy's governor of Chaoul was the indispensable necessity I had of travelling by land and traversing a very extensive country under his jurisdiction. There I was received with great complacency, and I have every reason to be satisfied with the civility of the

¹⁰ Carré probably refers to some Portuguese inhabitants of Upper Chaul or Chaul-de Cima, for the lower town alone belonged to the Portuguese. (See page 50.)

Governor. He was an Indian, a man of handsome countenance and of a stature taller than the average. I told him that I was a Frenchman and that pressing business had called me to Rajapour, a town of king Sevagy, where the French East India Company (*Compagnie des Indes*) had a factory. He replied that he was very glad that I should have given him this opportunity of obliging me and he gave me letters [57] for all the places I was to pass through, for his jurisdiction extended very far: His curiosity then engaged us in a conversation, which was at first about the greatness of the King of France and the forces of the kingdom. I then asked him about Sevagy, his master, and he told me that that hero intended to push his conquests from the river Indus, which forms the boundary of the kingdom of Cambaye, to the Gange, far beyond the rich provinces of Bengal.

This Governor, who was replete with the merit and the great qualities of his master, drew the best portrait (of him) in the world; he told me that he was a man whose vision was unbounded and whose capacity [58] was superior to his visions, a great warrior, a great politician, capable of undertaking everything and achieving everything, inured to fatigue and more laborious than the bravest soldier: He told me that difficulties stirred up his courage and that he had often undertaken conquests, because they seemed to present insurmountable difficulties.

Ever destined to conquer a part of the world, he had studied with extreme care everything about the duty of a General and that of a soldier, above all (the art of) fortification,¹¹ which he understood better than the ablest engineers, and Geography, of which he had made a special study, and which he had mastered and to such an extent as to know not [59] merely all the cities including the smallest townships of the country, but even the lands and the bushes, of which he had prepared very exact charts: He told me of his vigilance and specially of that promptitude which carried him from one country to another sooner than his enemies could discover his move-

¹¹ This praise was well deserved by Shivaji. He repaired many old forts and built many new strongholds both in Maharashtra and in the Karnatak.

ments. He added that although Sevagy counted much upon his bravery and upon what he could do by open force, nevertheless, being a clever person, he had in every court his own men and spies, on whom he fixed a big sum for informing him of everything that happened; and herein he was served with such a punctuality that never was anything mooted in the councils of the neighbouring kings that [60] Sevagy had not learnt quite in time to attack them, or to be on his guard, and this had served him above all as a protection against attempts that had frequently been made against his person, either from the side of Visapour or from the side of the Mogol.

I learnt further from this Governor, things about Sevagy's son, of whom we have already spoken, things that are well worthy of being reported here. He told me that this young prince was stationed in the kingdom of Cambaye to negotiate a secret understanding with one of Aurengzeb's sons, with whom he was connected by an intimate friendship. Resemblance, age and common tastes had united them [61] at first; and then the habit of visiting each other made them undertake more difficult engagements, and the matter went so far that they had no longer any secret for each other.

This son of the Mogol laid bare to the young Prince the afflictions that his father caused him everyday, that he received from him only marks of distrust, which was the result of the hatred that Aurengzeb's favourites always entertained for him, that this verily was the reason which made him leave the court and retire to a country filled with his father's armies, the principal officers of which were entirely on his side and were capable of rising up in his favour, whenever he would require them to do so.

[62] The younger Sevagy, in order to profit by situations so favourable, informed his father thereof and received from him orders to work upon the mind of Aurengzeb's son, (Sevagy was) delighted at the opening of a new way to his ambition and to train his son in diplomacy at the same time that he trained him for war.

I also learnt an important thing during this visit, which has often surprised me, for, while passing through the territories newly conquered by the arms of Sevagy, I was surprised to find that he appeared to have neglected to extend his con-

quests, having left to the Portuguese or to other powers many places, without making himself master thereof, at a time when he could do so without difficulty. But this Governor told me that even this was due to the cleverness of Sevagy who, having taken possession of all the strongest places where he might meet with resistance, had left the other ones in all the liberty they were enjoying, as they were not fortified and had nothing important but their wealth: that he treated them in this manner in order to protect commerce and prevent many of the towns from helping with men and money, in expectation of the same tranquillity, those whom he intended to attack. That among these places there were some of which the conqueror took so little account that he considered them as his own without having had the trouble of conquering them, and that, in word, Sevagy was the terror of the Orient and a prince whom his star always led [64] to glory by sure paths.

At last I took leave of the Governor with whom I had remained longer than I had wished at first. His discourses engaged me still more than his honest and obliging manners: for he always taught me something new and interesting, knowing perfectly as he did the country and the conflicting interests of the neighbouring princes. I shall not stop to give details of what he told me about commerce. Suffice it (to say) that I have spoken about it to those who are entrusted with the care of the Company's affairs and have been able to make a profit out of it to their satisfaction. What I can say is that things would be in much better condition that way [65] and profits much greater if all the persons who, by whatever interests it may be, shared therein, had concurred in the same view and had only the thought of working for the welfare of the nation without thinking too much of their private (interests).

(From p. 65 *supra* to p. 66 *infra* Carré says that the people on his way were idolatrous but full of humanity and religious sentiments.)

[66] I had a very pleasant journey while proceeding to S. Thome to seek our Viceroy,¹² who was besieged in this place

¹² San Thomé, an old Portuguese settlement near Madras, was annexed by the Sultan of Golkonda in 1662. In July 1672 De la Haye, the French Viceroy, appeared before the town with his squadron. The Muhammadan officers refused to supply provision and De la Haye in

and to whom I was charged to carry the orders of the king. I met, at all moments, king Sevagy's officers and troops [67], from whom I received nothing but courtesy; for, after the example of their master, they evinced a proneness for strangers and specially for the French. It was sufficiently manifested in the business of the siege of Saint Thome, an important town, which the king of Golkonde had held besieged for more than a year, when Sevagy weakened his forces so much that he was obliged to withdraw. I have decided to say something about it, as much as will be necessary for making Sevagy understood and his extreme diligence in the execution of projects, which he concealed under the secrecy of an inviolable silence; for I intend to give apart a narrative of the siege of St. Thomé: Here then, is how the thing happened.

Sevagy, as I have already, [68] said, having defeated the army of the king of Visapour, kept in service what remained of his better troops, who were very glad to pass under a general of such a great reputation. The king of Visapour did not long survive his defeat, it is even said that the ill-humour which he had from so much ill success contributed not a little to hasten the end of his days.¹³ This much is certain that since this battle, which he lost, he had no more joy nor health and his favourites began to apprehend the consequence. He left a son aged six years, who was crowned and proclaimed king in the capital of the realm with joy and extraordinary pomp.

his anger attacked and captured the place. This was accomplished without much difficulty as San Thomé had a small garrison with little munitions. It was an wanton breach of neutrality and an unwarranted act of aggression against a power that, to quote Carré, was practically unacquainted with the French people. Carré went to San Thomé a few months after this incident. The Golkonda Government prepared to avenge this uncalled for insult, but the first siege did not really begin before September. Unfortunately for the French they were already at war with the Dutch and Admiral Van Goen's fleet co-operated with the Muhammadan army. At last after a protracted siege the French were forced to capitulate for want of provision, money and reinforcement. The capitulation was signed on the 6th September, 1674 and De la Haye abandoned the town on the 23rd of that month with 530 men. (Kaepelin, *La compagnie des Indes Orientales et François Martin*, pp. 96-125, Mallerson, *History of the French in India*, pp. 18-22.)

¹³ Ali Adil Shah II died in 1672. His son Sikandar was a boy of four at that time.

This young Prince seemed to be very intelligent, and as much so as can be expected at such a tender age, and he already felt that he was the master. He was under the guardianship of a Prince of the royal blood, a mighty wealthy person, who possessed all the qualities necessary for commanding as sovereign and training a king. The deceased king himself had nominated him at the time of his death for this important office and had expressed his joy as he perceived that everybody approved of his choice.

Sevagy on his part having taken in Visapour the places that were convenient to him, had turned his thoughts and arms to another direction and left his new conquest in great tranquillity, so that Visapour under the guidance [70] of the young Prince enjoyed all the advantages that usually accompany profound peace.

Cavescan¹⁴ got the credit for all the good that followed; and he was quite happy to learn of having won the friendship of the people to such a degree that they raised no objection to undertake whatever he desired. He was believed to be a warrior, because he knew how to behave (like one) during peace time. It was at this very time that the new conquests of Sevagy caused fresh anxiety to the Mogol, and he formed the plan of arming all the neighbouring kings against him. He sent a superb embassy to the king of Visapour and his ambassador was accompanied by all the greatest [71] nobles of his country who had followed him partly through friendship for him and partly to make an exhibition of the greatness of the nation.

[Pp. 71-76. The Mogol ambassador was received with great pomp: in a lengthy speech he proposed an alliance against Sevagy and his proposal was accepted.]

[77] Cavescan assembled the grandees of the realm several times and war was resolved upon on certain conditions which the ambassador boasted of having made agreeable to his master. The generals were nominated and (officers) were sent to the most

¹⁴ Khawas Khan, an Abyssinian and leader of the Deccani party. He was not a scion of the royal family as Carré suggests. Khawas Khan, contrary to a previous understanding with the other party leaders, usurped the supreme power after the King's death. He tried to retain his position with the Moghul help but was arrested and deposed by Abdul Karim Bahlol Khan, the leader of the Afghan party.

sequestered provinces for raising troops and money. The entire aspect of the realm was seen immediately changed, and instead of the profound peace which they enjoyed a few days previously, tumult and clash of arms were only heard. Troops came there from all parts and the town was too small to hold them. The greatest noise came from the elephants which these people are accustomed to employ in war: for they know how to arm them [78] so that at the first command from those who guide them they (the elephants) understand what is required of them and use their trunk with an admirable skill for crushing men with blows of clubs or heavy iron chains attached to them. Gold and precious stones shone, on all sides, upon the dresses and arms of these men, who dress up for war as they dress up in these very parts for a festival or a tournament.

Sevagy had, from the commencement of this negotiation on the part of the Mogol, obtained reliable information of it and knew what the instruction of the ambassador contained, as (did) the ambassador himself. Nothing that was more to his [79] taste could befall him than a war declared so openly and with so much noise. This prince like lightning flew from one country to another and he was always found where he was least expected.

Several months ago, he had appeared at the gates of Surate where the fright had been so great that everyone took to flight. At the same time he sent to demand from the Portuguese of Daman that they should pay him heavy contributions and an annual tribute which he had imposed upon them for the places he had restored to them.

After the warlike preparations of the Mogol and Visapour, it was not doubted that Sevagy should go to attack Amadabath¹⁵ one of the richest and strongest towns of the Mogol. And [80] when this town only thought of fortifying itself, and when, on the rumour of his coming, everybody there was in alarm and in trouble, it was learnt with extreme surprise that this prince at a distance of more than hundred leagues from there was at the gates of the metropolis of the kingdom of Golkonde, whence he had sent to demand of the king two millions of pagodes which are (equivalent to) twelve millions of our money, adding that otherwise he might come before him

¹⁵ Ahmadabad. See note 5, p. 77.

and prevent him from entering into his capital which he was going to order to be pillaged by his army.¹⁶

The king of Golkonde who had sent the major part of his troops to the siege of S. Thomé and who in the royal city where he considered himself safe had only his residence [81] and some merchants, hardly capable of defending it, found himself under the cruel necessity of obeying the orders of Sevagy, who received this great financial aid for carrying on the new wars organised against him. Sevagy has since said that he was very glad to do this favour to our nation and not to let the bravest men in the world be crushed, who were always victorious during the course of this siege, but not receiving any re-inforcement had at last to yield.

The king of Golkonde had more than sixty thousand men before S. Thomé with express orders to take the place: but when he had exhausted his treasury for arresting the enterprise [82] of Sevagy, the troops could not be paid regularly and the siege of St. Thomé had to be raised.

After this exploit Sevagy withdrew to his places in order to give rest to his army and to make alterations or addition to his fortifications as he might consider proper. He often walked alone in [83] the big gardens, where he refreshed himself from his conquests and spent entire days with his favourites in diverting himself and doing nothing with as much tranquillity as if he was a private person, or had been in firmly assured peace with his neighbour. He affected this tranquillity in order to mock the great bustles which his valour caused his enemies, above all the king of Visapour: he had the hardihood, when all the realms armed themselves against him, to go with a flying party to capture Bicholin, a place on the frontier, and other important and very strong towns belonging to Visapour which were so near Goa that only a river separated the lands of the Portuguese and those of Sevagy.

[84] It was at that very time that I arrived at the capital town of Visapour and was a witness of the great preparations that were being made there. I met in the town a governor whom I had seen several years ago at Mirzes¹⁷ on the Malla-

¹⁶ This is an obvious error. Shivaji visited the capital of Golkonda as a friend and ally.

¹⁷ Mirjan—"village in the Kumta *Tāluka* of North Kanara district,

barre coast. He was a Persian by nation and a man of very good sense, chance presented me to him since I had arrived, and I had received from him a thousand good offices. He told me one day that he was surprised (to find) how much the French were liked in Visapour; their manners, noble and easy, opposed to ceremony and restraint, won them (attracted to them) the heart of everyone; that the king, his master, liked them strongly and had even, in consideration for them, refused to help [85] the king of Golkonde in the siege of S. Thomé, that, as for Sevagy, he was more absolute in Visapour than the king who reigned there, on account of the large sums of money that he gave so liberally to those who served him as spies and on account of the pleasure that they had in serving a man who seemed to have been born to command. I understood that valour always has its reward and that great men find praise even in the mouth of their enemies.

Bombay, about 5 miles north of Kumta town. Mirjan has been supposed to be the ancient Muziris mentioned by Pliny as the first trading town in India. Under the Vijayanagar Kings Mirjan was held by local tributary chiefs. Albuquerque visited it in 1510. It subsequently passed to Bijapur, and later to the Bednur chief Sivappa Naik. The Marāthās seized it in 1757. It suffered from the depredations of Haidar, and was destroyed by Tipū. Fryer visited Mirjān in the seventeenth century." (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XVII, p. 364.)

THE KARNATAK EXPEDITION

By

Francois Martin

THE KARNATAK EXPEDITION

(From "Memoir on the Establishment of French Colonies in the East Indies by François Martin, Governor of the Town and Fort Louis of Pondichery." Unpublished Manuscript, Archives Nationales, Paris, T.* 1169.) (Fol. 279r^o.)

1677 May

At last at the beginning of the month of May the movements made at Golconde for carrying on the war in these quarters were known. The Duke of Gingy perceived well that he could not resist Chircam and that the latter would sooner or later render himself master of this capital, urged all the more by the hatred that always existed between the Patane and the Daquinis, he (the Duke) resolved to negotiate with the king of Golconde for handing over to him Gingy and other territories he had.¹ For this he despatched some envoys who communicated with the minister Madena about this affair; this Brahman wanted to render some service to his religion on this occasion,² as he had control over the king of Golconde and knew how to

¹ The nobles of Bijapur were divided into two principal parties or factions. The Afghan party was led by Bahlol Khan while Khawas Khan was the leader of the Deccani faction. The Abyssinian nobles belonged to Khawas Khan's party. On the death of Ali Adil Shah II in 1672 Khawas Khan became regent. In 1676 Khawas Khan was arrested and put to death by Bahlol Khan who seized the reins of the government. Khawas Khan's friends retaliated by murdering a prominent leader of the Afghan party and a civil war broke out throughout the kingdom. Nasir Muhammad, Governor of Jinji, was, according to Professor Kaepelin, a brother of the deceased regent Khawas Khan. (Sabhasad says that Nasir Muhammad was the son of Khan Khanan, a wazir of Bijapur. Sen, *Siva Chhatrapati*, p. 124). Sher Khan Lodi, an Afghan, naturally belonged to the opposite party. These nobles were in theory provincial governors, but as the central government had become disorganised, they became for all practical purposes the sovereign rulers of the provinces under their charge. It is on this account that the ruler of Jinji was styled as Duke and Prince by the French.

² Madanna, a Brahman, rose to the high office of the Prime Minister of Golkonda during the reign of its last independent king Abul Hasan alias Tana Shah. He enjoyed considerable reputation as a scholar. There is reason to believe that he advocated an alliance with Shivaji from an honest conviction that it would be profitable for Golkonda.

win him over to his views, Madena proposed to the king the conquest of the state of Gingy^{2a} which would consequently involve the countries of Taniaour,³ Madure and thereby render him the master of the whole of Carnate. As he had his secret designs, he thereafter represented that it would not be proper to send there an army in usual form for fear of exciting the jealousy of the Mogol and also because it was necessary that he should keep his best troops near him, and that Sivagy Raja, who was not far from Golconde with an army, must be induced to undertake this conquest and with the cavalry that was ordinarily (stationed) in that part of Carnate which was dependent on this kingdom and by the orders that would be issued to the governors of different places and to the paleagars⁴ to join Sivagy, it would suffice for this enterprise, and that before embarking on it that chief should engage on an oath, to deliver to the king of Golconde all the fortresses he would capture; the good prince was deceived by the proposal. He wrote to Sivagy, inviting him to advance, The minister Madena, who knew that chief, knew it well that nothing would be obtained from his promises, and apparently he was in agreement with him; his object was to put a part of Carnate under Hindu domination

^{2a} "A famous rock-fortress in the Tindivanam *tāluk* of South Arcot District, Madras, situated in 12°15' N. and 79°25' E., on the road from Tindivanam to Tiruvannāmalai. The interest of the place is chiefly historical. The existing village is a mere hamlet, with a population (1901) of only 524. The fortress consists of three strongly defended hills—Rājigiri, Kistnagiri, and Chandrāya Drug—connected by long walls of circumvallation. The most notable is Rājagiri, on which stands the citadel. It is not known with certainty who constructed the fort, but historical accounts and the nature of the buildings point to the conclusion that the credit of building it belongs mainly, if not entirely, to the ancient Vijayanagar dynasty. In 1677 the fort fell to Sivaji and remained in Marāthā hands for twenty-two years." (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XII, pp. 242-245.)

³ Tanjore and Madura, old principalities ruled by Nayaks. Tanjore city is 218 miles from Madras and Madura is 345 miles from Madras, on the south bank of the Vaigai river.

⁴ Poligar. "This term is peculiar to the Madras Presidency. The persons so called were properly subordinate feudal chiefs, occupying tracts more or less wild, and generally of predatory habits in former days; they are now much the same as ZEMINDARS in the highest use of the term. The word is Tamil *pālaiyakkāran*, the holder of a *pālaiyam*, or feudal estate; Telugu *pālegāder*, and thence Mahratti *pālegār*; the English form being no doubt taken from one of the two latter." (*Hobson Jobson*, p. 718.)

and to make himself a powerful protector of Sevagy by virtue of the facilities that he gave him (Sivagy) to make himself the master of it; and perhaps they had still more far-reaching designs. Sivagy arrived at Golconde with his army, he was very well received by the king who gave him rich presents. He had many consultations with the minister, orders were sent to the governors of various places in Carnate and to the paleagars to give Sivagy whatever assistance he might demand of them; troops, provisions, artillery, munition etc., the Duke of Gingy was informed of every thing and of the fact that Sivagy was the commander of the army of the king of Golconde and that he had orders to conclude the treaty about which they had agreed. Nasirmamet, who only sought the means of preventing Chircam from rendering himself the master of Gingy, did not make any alteration to the terms and got ready to receive Sevagy to whom he sent ambassadors as soon as he (279v°) learnt that he was in Carnate. Meanwhile the news of the march of this army and its approach put everyone in the country in confusion and each retired to the place where he believed to find himself safe.

We found ourselves very much embarrassed by this news at Pondichery. The king of Golconde wished us this, there were all the appearances that Sivagy would act in his interests, we also rightly foresaw that the Duke of Gingy would moreover incite him against us and that the Dutch would not fail to injure those who could trouble them in their commerce, over and above the fact that they were our avowed enemies. In this perplexity I wrote to Chircam and I sent to him a trustworthy person to learn the measures that chief (had taken) to defend himself against the enemies who were about to fall upon him. I thereafter got information that Sedisour and other captains, who left the side of the Duke of Gingy last year and threw themselves on that of Chircam, had gone back to that chief and returned with their troops to Gingy and that the Duke's son had done the same thing, and that this secession had weakened the army of Chircam, who on his part was greatly embarrassed. He gave a warning to the principal merchants to withdraw.

The man I had sent to Chircam returned and reported to me that he had found that chief in great consternation. He had represented to him, according to the orders I had given, that

we were not safe at Pondichery that everything was against us and that we should consider that this (state of things) only arose in part from the service that we had rendered him against the Duke of Gingy. He asked his permission for us to retire to the fortress of Tequenepatan⁵ in case we were forced to do it, so that we would (yet) help to save it for him. Chircam excused himself on what the Dutch would think of it, namely, that he had handed over that fortress to us and this would afford them a good pretext for attacking us there. He offered us Paleamcote⁶ for a place of retreat and this was all that he could do—that meanwhile there was nothing to fear from Sivagy and he had enough forces for resisting him.

This is what our envoy, who returned on the 2nd of May, reported to me. He told me also that the ambassadors of the neighbouring princes were close to Chircam for adopting the measures in the present juncture. What our envoy reported to us made us still more anxious; as a place of retreat Tequenepatan would have been convenient for us, besides it was on the sea-board which we ought to choose to save ourselves, Paleamcote is a fortress in the territories to the south-west of Pondichery at a distance of twenty leagues in our measure of length. To offer it as a retreat to us was to mock us as well. We however awaited the course of events in order to determine our (policy).

On the 22nd I received a letter from Ibrahimcam, the eldest

⁵ Tegnapatan or Devanampatnam, a little to the north of Cuddalore old town and east of Cuddalore new town in the South Arcot District, Cuddalore Taluk, about 12 miles south of Pondichery. The Dutch had a small settlement at the place and wanted to acquire the small fort, which was already there, from the Marathas who were masters of the Jinji country from the time of its capture by Shivaji in 1677. Shortly afterwards, in 1678, the Dutch abandoned the Devanampatnam settlement and retired to Pulicat. They seem to have entertained a design of capturing Pondichery and the castle of Devanampatnam. In 1680 the Dutch got permission from the Marathas to erect a factory at Porto Novo. In 1690 the English purchased the fort from Raja Ram and it was named Fort St. David. (Prof. C. S. Srinivasa-chari.) Tegnapatan is about a mile from Cuddalore.

⁶ Palaiyamkottai in Chidambaram Taluk of the South Arcot District.

son Chircam. He informed me that he had arrived at Trividy⁷ and wished me to let him know in reply whether I liked to go there to meet him or whether he would come here for consulting us upon the present affairs. I sent back the man who had brought me his letter and charged him to assure him that I would be at Trividy the next day.

I mounted horse at 11 o'clock at night with Sieurs Herpin and Germain and 10 soldiers. We arrived at Trividy next day, the 23rd, at 9 o'clock in the morning. There I found Ibrahimcam and a number of his men much occupied, the former with despatching the family and the others with making packages (Fol. 280r^o) and in lading the coffers and generally their more valuable belongings there, all to be transported to Valgondépour.⁸

I had a two hours' consultation with Ibrahimcam about the present affairs. He wanted to make me believe that he did not fear Sivagy, that Ecugy,⁹ Madure¹⁰ and other chiefs of the country would join their forces with the troops they had and that they were in a position to defend themselves there. He added that there were eight to ten thousand horse in march under the Generalissimo Baloulcan¹¹ who were coming to those parts. He wanted even to persuade me that Sivagy did not like

⁷ Tiruvadi, about 15 miles west of Fort St. David. In 1750 the French garrisoned this place with 50 Europeans and 100 Sepoys. (Orme, *War in Indostan*, Vol. I, 2nd edition, p. 147.)

⁸ Valikandapuram: "Eight miles north-north-east of Perambalur. Its name is said to mean 'the village where Váli was seen,' and it is popularly supposed to have been the place where Ráma met Váli. The place is called Volcondah by Orme." (*Trichinopoly Gazetteer*, p. 307.)

⁹ Ekoji, also called Vyankoji, was Shivaji's step-brother by Shahaji's second wife Tuka Bai.

¹⁰ The Nayak of Madura. This must be Chokkanatha Nayak who ruled from 1650 to 1682. He removed his capital from Madura to Trichinopoly. He waged war against Mysore and Tanjore and this quarrel between Madura and Tanjore finally led to the Maratha conquest of the latter principality. (R. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 154-190.)

¹¹ Bahlol Khan. Originally a general of the Bijapur army, he afterwards became regent of the kingdom. He died in December, 1677 and his party was unable to retain its predominance in the state. Siddi Masaud, the next *karbhari* or prime minister, belonged to the Deccani party.

their coming. However, in spite of the good countenance he put upon it, he was seen to be in a hurry to order his goods to be transferred and his carriages to be despatched. He also asked us to retire to Paleamcote, we replied that it was not our custom to leave before having seen the enemy.

I then spoke to him about his father's refusal (to us) of the fortress of Tequenepatan as a place of retreat. He also alleged the same reasons to us, meanwhile he told us that his father would write to the governor to receive us there if we were pressed. I noticed that we were embarrassing him and that he intended to leave. We left him and he at once mounted on horseback to rejoin the family, the elephants, the camels and other conveyances that were already on march. We then retired to a quarter of league from there, where we dined and whence we set out for Pondichery, where we arrived on the 24th at six in the morning.

The whole conduct of Chircam convinced us that things went worse than Ibrahimcam was pleased to have us believe. We had also news that the vanguards of Sivagy's troops had arrived at (a place) two days' (journey) from Gingy.

Meanwhile a Portuguese ship had anchored in our road on its way to Madras from Goa. We resolved to put up on board the most valuable things the company had in the lodge which were in fact not very considerable, still we deemed them more safe at Madras than at Pondichery; this being done, the ship instantly set sail. Not being in a position to defend themselves, the petty princes of these parts decided immediately to send (messengers) to Sivagy; there was Chircam only who put a good countenance, though he could not help betraying the bad state of his affairs; he changed his resolution about the safety of his family whom he pushed into the woods of Arelour.¹²

The majority of the inhabitants of Goudelour¹³ and other places of the coast left and proceeded to the south; the inhabitants of Pondichery sent what valuables they had to the forests in our neighbourhood, we also sent there certain goods that

¹² Ariyalur, chief town of the subdivision of the same name in the Trichinopoly district. "*The Zamindars* are Vanniyas by caste, and originally, held the estate as *arasukāvalgārs* or 'heads of police'." (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VI, pp. 1-2.)

¹³ Cuddalore, 12 miles south of Pondichery.

were kept in the lodge, there was consternation everywhere.

One of our men returned on the 28th from Gingy. He had witnessed there the arrival of a detachment of one thousand horse from Sivagy's troops who encamped near the place. The commander had come there to confer with Nasirmamet.

We sent information to Surat about the condition of the province.

We decided to go to inspect the condition of the fortress of Valdour¹⁴ for ascertaining whether we could find a refuge in it in case of necessity, and we were there in the evening of the 30th. There were provisions enough in the place, munitions and garrison of seven to eight hundred men, which was more than what was needed for its defence, but there was lack of funds. (280v°). The houses near the place were being felled, the garrison gave sufficient evidence of their resolution but there was no money for their pay. We spent the night there in conversing with the officers, on the morning of the 31st we returned to Pondichery whence I wrote to Chircam, informing him about the condition in which we had found the place.

We were informed the same day that the agreement between Sivagy and Nasirmamet was concluded and that some troops of the former were already in Gingy. Nasirmamet had received a sum in cash and some territories with an annual rent of fifty thousand *écus*¹⁵ in perpetuity, and he was preparing to leave the place with his family.

Chircam had always wanted to persuade us that we had nothing to fear from Sivagy, that he had sufficient forces to fight him, that reinforcement had come to him from Visiapour ; we however did not give any credence to what he wrote us ; with the treaty with Nasirmamet concluded, it is certain that they would forthwith fall upon him, we had reason to fear also to find all against us, Sivagy, Golconde and Nasirmamet. At the juncture I assembled the more important persons of the lodge and after having considered the state of affairs we arrived

¹⁴ Valdour, about 15 miles west of Pondichery.

¹⁵ An obsolete French coin, originally of gold, first struck by St. Louis in 1250. The silver *écu* was first coined by Henry III in 1580 and was current till the reign of Louis XVI. From 1641 to 1793 a silver *écu* was equivalent to 60 *sols* and its value varied from 3 to 6 *livres* or French pounds. (Larousse, *Dictionnaire Universel Encyclopedique*.)

at the decision of sending an envoy to Sivagy in order to try to maintain us at Pondichery. I wrote to that chief, representing to him that our company was established in his territories of Rajapour¹⁶ and that as such we prayed to be preserved in these parts. A Bramen who served in the lodge was sent to him. I instructed him about the reply he would have to give to the complaints that we foresaw would be made against us about the capture of the king of Golconde's ship in the Masulipatam Road¹⁷ as well as the capture of (the fort of) Valdour¹⁸ from Nasirmamet. Then I wrote to Chircam about the precautions we had taken believing that he would not take it amiss.

JUNE

The Bramen set out for Gingy on the 1st June.

A group of dyers that we had at Pondichery in the service of the company left at night without our knowledge. They be-took themselves to Madras.

On the 4th we received a letter from Chircam couched in the same tone as the previous ones, that he expected reinforcement, that he would beat Sivagy and that he gave us liberty to retire to Valdour or to remain at Pondichery.

Shortly afterwards we got information that Sivagy after giving orders at Gingy for the preservation of that place was

¹⁶ The French factory at Rajapur was founded in 1669 by J. Boureau. (Kaeppelin, *La Compagnie des Indes Orientales et François Martin*, p. 60.)

¹⁷ The French were at war with the king of Golkonda on account of San Thomé (see note pp. 181-82). In 1676 M. Herpin was sent on a small vessel with forty men to capture a Spanish ship that was supposed to be on its way from Manilla to Porto Novo and had on board a large sum of money. Failing to seize the Spanish ship that did not make the usual voyage, Herpin entered, according to previous instruction, the Masulipatam road and captured a ship belonging to the king of Golkonda (Kaeppelin, *La Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, p. 158.)

¹⁸ Sher Khan Lodi had permitted the French to settle at Pondichery and further helped them with a loan on very high interests. In return whereof he expected their assistance in his war against Nasir Muhammad of Jinji. Martin himself led the expedition against Valdour. He left Pondichery on the 24th September, 1676 and the fort was reduced the next day. (Kaeppelin, *La Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, pp. 159-160.)

gone to attack Velour,¹⁹ an important fortress eight or ten leagues from there (Gingy). This place belonged to the king of Visiapour and a Kafir²⁰ was its Governor; he was solicited by Nasirmamet to come to terms but he flatly refused to follow his example.

On the 5th we received a letter from an uncle of Chircam who assured (us) that the reinforcement which had been sent was near, that cannon had been fired at Trividy, and in other places of the country sugar and betels had been distributed among the inhabitants for such a good news. We did not give it any credence at all.

Our Bramen informed us by a letter which we received on the 6th that he had arrived at Gingy and proceeded to encamp (281r°) before Velour.

In the agreement with Nasirmamet it was settled that some territories, dependent on the kingdom of Golconde, should belong to him. On the refusal of Sivagy to deliver Gingy to the officers of the king of Golconde as he had engaged himself to do, those officers also refused to put Nasirmamet in possession of lands which had been ceded to him by the treaty and which were in the state of their prince. This opened their eyes and convinced them that Madena was allied with Sivagy to the prejudice of the interests of the king of Golconde; that unfaithful minister had cheated his master in his intention of re-establishing the Hindus in Carnate. Poor Nasirmamet was shuffled and got only a portion of what had been promised to him; fallen from his former greatness, he became so melancholy that he died a short while after.

Ecugy, a brother of Sivagy by his father,²¹ came to terms with him after several negotiations from both sides. Sivagy had some claims against Ecugy on account of some lands the latter held under the jurisdiction of Gingy and which he made much

¹⁹ Vellore, in North Arcot district, 37 miles from Madras. It was considered one of the strongest forts in that region. Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad wrote about it "that fort was so strong, that there was not another like it on the earth. Round the fort was a ditch of flowing water. The water was bottomless (so deep was the ditch). In that water lived ten thousand alligators. Two carts could be driven side by side, over the rampart of the fort, so strong was it. The rampart had four circuits one after (within) another." (Sen, *Siva Chhatrapati*, p. 127.)

²⁰ Probably an Abyssinian.

²¹ Ecugy, frère de père de Sivagy.

of, eventually as I shall relate.

Detachments of Sivagy's troops seized many villages around Valdour and Congimere,²² the well-to-do people who were (still) there threw themselves into the woods and waited for the conclusion of the war.

We received a letter on the 17th from our Bramen who informed us that he had seen Sivagy by whom he had been well received, that he was coming back to inform us of the conversations that he had with that chief.

The troops of Sivagy ravaged the country everywhere, they were masters of the open plains, there remained nothing but the fortresses that held out for Chircam but their garrison dared not come out.

Our Bramen returned from Sivagy on the 19th. He reported to us that he secured three audiences with that chief by the assistance of one Janardarpendit²³ also a Bramen and one of his (Sivagy's) ministers. In the first audience Sivagy strongly complained against our people for having defied the king of Golconde whom he called his father, his lord and his sovereign, by the capture of Saint Thomé and seizure of the ship in the road of Masulipatan. He continued his complaints against the insults we had offered the Duke of Gingy by the capture of Valdour. The Bramen, who was prepared for all these replied to him and gave him satisfaction on all these charges; this first audience terminated in that manner. The second almost wholly revolved round the same matters, Sivagy then added that since we had taken Valdour from Nasirmamet for the benefit of Chircam we could also transfer the same to that chief and restore it to him. Thereupon the Bramen replied that Chircam had been always our friend, that we had obligations to him and we should not draw sword against him. Sivagy then demanded that we should send some Frenchmen to help him to take

²² Congimere is most probably Congimedu (North of Pondichery) of Orme's map (*War in Indostan*, p. 33). Kunimedu, 13 miles north of Pondichery and about 1 mile from the sea (Prof. C. C. Srinivasachari).

²³ Janardan Narayan Hanmante, brother of Raghunath Narayan Hanmante. He afterwards became Sumanta or one of the eight principal ministers of state. He espoused the cause of Rajaram after Shivaji's death and was appointed to command the army sent against Sambhaji, by whom he was surprised and captured.

possession of Velour; to which he replied that we could not leave Pondichery. The chief then made another attempt; he asked what we would give him for leaving us in peace. Our Bramen replied that we had nothing in the lodge that there was no trading doing on account of the war we were having against the Dutch, but that we expected some ships. The second audience terminated with these conversations. At the third, Sivagy assured our envoy that we might stay in complete security at Pondichery without taking the side of either party; that if we offered the least insult to his people there would be no quarter for us or for those of our people who were in the factory (281v°) of Rajapour, that he would send an *avaladar* in a few days to govern Pondichery and that we might have to live with him in the same manner as we had done with the officers of Chircam; the chief dismissed the Bramen, he entrusted him with a letter for me in the form of a *firman*, his minister also wrote me in the same terms; the envoy returned with these assurances and the two letters. Sivagy had been given to understand that we were two to three hundred Frenchmen at Pondichery, that there were seventy at Valdour, this is what had made that chief ask us to help him to take Velour, the Bramen was assured that the information that was given to Sivagy made him change the design he had formed, after he had entered Gingy, of coming to these parts, fearing that we would (in that case) join ourselves with Chircam and it was this reason that caused him to march against Velour. The Bramen reported what he had been told and it appeared that there was something in it, for, a few days after Sivagy was assured about us, he raised the siege of Velour in order to proceed to fight Chircam, the Governor of that place defended himself to his best, he rejected all the proposals made to him for coming to terms.

The ambassadors of the Naiques of Madure and of Maioursour were near Sivagy as well as the envoys of the paleagers of Velour, Onlourpatian²⁴ and others.

²⁴ Onlourpatian is Ulundúrpétta. It was the seat of a Poligar and means the town of black gram. Its local god is the Lord of Black Gram; and it has got a famous shrine of Kali. The trunk road from Madras to Trichinopoly runs through the place, it is situated in the Tirukoilur Taluk, due west of the place of that name. It is now on the chord line of railway between Villupuram and Trichinopoly. (Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari.)

Shortly after the return of our Bramen 50 cavaliers and some infantry arrived at Pondichery, I sent to reconnoitre them. They said that they came to seek Chircam and wanted to encamp for the night near a mosque which is to the south of the colony. I could not refrain from giving them permission. meanwhile I caused them to be watched and we were under arms the whole night. The next day the 20th, the commander of these troops sent me a demand for some money on loan and some provisions. I replied to his men that we had neither the one nor the other. Upon this refusal they wanted to do violence to the inhabitants, we took up an attitude of resisting it, these movements obliged the commander to withdraw with his troops. He marched toward the interior. These were men who were looking for pillage. They had been to Tequenepatan where they were refused admission into the fortress, they were received at Goudelour when it was made known that they were really Chircam's men.

Four of our soldiers deserted on the 21st, it appears that this was due to fear.

The troops of Sivagy who were near Valdour retreated and joined the main army.

We were informed on the 22nd that Chircam had arrived with his army at Trividy, eight leagues from Pondichery. He sent us word by one of our men, who was in his suite and whom he had sent to us, that his affairs were in a good condition and that we would be acquainted with new thereof in a few days. Meanwhile we learnt from another source that Sivagy's men had captured from him two small places, Panemoule and Trinenelour.²⁵

The overthrow of Chircam was already in sight; he owed the company some money, I wrote to him about it, I put up the pretext that we had no money to subsist on and that this

²⁵ Trinenelour is Tiruvennanallur, 14 miles south-east of Tirukoilur in the South Arcot District, intimately connected with the great Tamil poet Kambar whose first patron was lord of this place. Panemoule, 13 miles north by west of Villupuram Junction on the South Indian Railway, near the south end of the Jinji hills. It is situated in the midst of a picturesque country. In the middle of the *bund* of its tank is a rock on the top of which is a Saiva temple with inscriptions of the Pallava King Rajasinha. (Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari.)

was the only means we had of maintaining ourselves. I received his reply on the 25th in which he pointed out to me that he was also in (282r°) need, that I should take into consideration the present circumstances and that we must suffer together.

There was a sort of sedition in the lodge, the circumstance that had contributed to it was that the sailors and soldiers refused what was given them for subsistence though it was enough for living. They were also excited by some turbulent spirits, which led me to arrest a sergeant and a surgeon and to cause them to be thrown into the dungeon.

I thought it was proper to go to see Chircam in order to endeavour to get some money from him and be precisely acquainted with the state of his affairs. There were nevertheless some measures to be attended to, I could not make this journey without Sivagy knowing of it, possibly it might make him change his attitude with regard to us. I had a consultation with the principals of the lodge whereby the journey was resolved upon, and deferred exculpating ourselves to Sivagy, till he should write about it.

I started on the 27th at three in the afternoon, we were four cavaliers, and ten French soldiers under a sergeant with twenty native soldiers. At 8 we arrived at Toquenambat, it is a village four leagues from Pondichery and halfway from Trividy. We rested for an hour, after (which) I received some letters from Surat which Sieur Deltor, who had remained at the lodge, had sent me. Inside these, there were some letters from the company of December 16, dealing with the state of their commerce only, with the exception that it had given very much confidence to the rebellious spirits who had been sent back and who had induced the Directors to blame the conduct of some of the chiefs of the Surate council (for something); there was, however, nothing to reprove, but this is an error into which one frequently falls upon the reports of worthless people. I also received in the same way some letters from Sieur Destremana,²⁶ French merchant at Golconde. He informed me that the league had been confirmed between the king of Golconde, Sivagy and the (corps of the) Daqueni party against Baloulcam who had taken possession of the Government of Visiapour.

²⁶ He was also physician to the King of Golkonda.

There was little appearance of his (Baloulcam) being able to send reinforcements to Chircam, as he had necessity of all his forces for defending himself against so many enemies.

We arrived at seven in the morning of the 28th to a village about a quarter of a league from Trividy; from there I sent (a messenger) to inform Chircam of our arrival, he asked me to see him in the afternoon. An accident to our interpreter was the cause of our inability to discuss the affairs during this visit which we made at four in the evening. I noticed that Chircam and all his men were very sad, only a general discourse was entered into, postponing the essential (one) for the next day. We returned at seven to the camp, at night we had an alarm on a rumour which ran (to the effect) that Sivagy was near.

We went to see Chircam on the 29th. He was in his *divan*²⁷ with his principal officers. After some general conversation I asked of him a private interview. He made his people leave, there remained only his uncle, an old man of nearly eighty years, and his eldest son. I caused (our interpreter) to enquire of him the condition of his affairs and the decisions he had come to, with a view to decide upon our measures also. He replied (to it) that as for the conditions of his affairs, they were quite satisfactory, that he had been informed that Badourkam²⁸ had sent word to the king of Golconde that if he did not give up the alliance with Sivagy he (Badourkam) would deliver (282 v°) Visiapore to the Mogol, that he also offered to come to terms with Sedimousour,²⁹ the chief of the Daquenis, and to submit to him, the minister remaining content with the office of the Commander-in-Chief, that there was every sign that the king of Golconde and Sedimousour would listen to these proposals and that their effects would be seen before fifteen days expired. As for his decisions, (he added) if Sivagy sent only four to five thousand horse against him he would hasard a battle, but if he (Sivagy) came with all his forces he (Chircam) would have to retire under the guns of one of his fortresses,

²⁷ A council chamber or a place properly equipped for sitting in.

²⁸ Bahadur Khan, foster brother of Aurangzib, and Viceroy of the Deccan. It may be a clerical error for Baloulcam.

²⁹ Sidi Masaud, see note 11, p. 193.

that what caused him the greatest trouble was the lack of funds. He then asked me, after apologizing, how the present juncture appeared to me, but afterwards being pressed to tell him what I thought, I informed him what had been written to me from Golconde, I then added that according to appearances the league would not change its views so soon; that we were touched to see him in so little state (ill equipped) to resist Sivagy whose army consisted of twelve thousand horse and many thousand infantry, that in my opinion he should furnish his principal fortresses with good garrisons and supply them with victuals and munitions of war and retire with a body of cavalry near the woods of Arelour, that he knew well that Sivagy could not remain more than two months longer in these parts on account of the necessity of going to preserve his estates in the Decan and on the coast of India, and that after his departure he (Chircam) would have the liberty of re-establishing himself, as his lands would not disappear and would exist forever. His uncle forthwith interrupted the interpreter and said that this was what he had represented but he had not been listened to and that Chircam suffered himself to be guided by some Bramens who betrayed him. This matter was again dilated on after which the principal Bramen was called in to see whether there would be room for admitting some provisions into the places that had been named to him; this man, according to the nature of the people of his sect who look to their own interest only, foresaw the ruin of Chircam and answering in a sufficiently cold tone raised many difficulties and it is true that he ought to have thought of this earlier. Things continued to be the same without anything being decided on. Chircam then proposed to me that we should join him. I pointed out to him that in the first place we numbered only 35 to 40 Frenchmen who could not be of any great use to him at the present juncture, that I believed that we would serve him much better by staying at Pondichery on account of the information we would be able to give him. It was this (reason) that led me to send a Bramen to Sivagy, this man was present and related to him what had been treated, Chircam, his uncle and his son approved of our (conduct). He had the intention of sending his family to Tequenepatan on account of the facilities he had for retiring to that place by sea. He asked for my opinion but as I knew

that he was not on good terms with the Dutch I told him that he should assure himself about them beforehand.

I then represented the interests of the company and the fact that we needed money to subsist on. He answered that I saw the condition in which he was, that this (money) was what he also needed, for if he had funds he would not be lacking in troops to fight Sivagy. I then caused his uncle to be sounded by our (283r°) Bramen with a view to ask for his advice as to whether we should demand from Chircam a decree in the form of cession of Pondichery as security for the debt of the company. He replied that things had not been pressed so far, that he would take charge of this matter and serve us in this respect in (proper) time. We spent two hours in these conversations after which we withdrew ourselves and I have not seen Chircam since. His army was composed of three thousand horse and three or four thousand infantry but the mere name of Sivagy made them tremble. Chircam was by nature one of the capable men in India for governing, but was little qualified for war. He had also the weakness of letting himself be guided by his Bramens who made him believe that Sivagy's army would disappear at the sight of his forces. We returned to our camp and arrived at Pondichery on the 30th.

JULY

On the 2nd July I learnt that Chircam's uncle and his (Chircam's) son were at Valdour. I wrote them a letter of courtesy, they also replied in the same spirit and informed me that they had come there to pay the garrison and to throw some provision into the place.

On the 5th we got information that Sivagy had left the siege of Velour where he had left a part of his troops and he had arrived at Gingy whence he had started with six thousand horse to fight Chircam.

This news made me apprehensive about Chircam I spoke to our Bramen about it, I told him that it was absolutely necessary that he should go to Trividy with a view to obtain some security from that chief for the company's debt. He set out on the 7th, while at three leagues from Pondichery, he saw that all the inhabitants were on their flight, they told him that Chircam had been defeated, this obliged him to retrace his

steps to give me this unpleasant news which was confirmed from diverse places on the same day. Afterwards came four cavaliers of his (Chircam's) army, who retreated to the northern side and they told us the same thing.

Many other cavaliers of the same army came on the 8th also into Pondichery and from them we learnt the details of Chircam's defeat. On the 6th Sivagy had advanced with his troops within view of Trividy. Chircam at once caused his men to be put into fighting order and advanced against his enemies, it is not known whether he still had the foolishness with which the Bramens had inspired him, to believe that his enemies would disappear when he approached them, but it is certain that his march had something of a martial (character). This intrepidity did not, however, last long. Sivagy's army did not swerve in the least, it awaited the shock. Chircam recognised thereby that he had taken a false step, the posture of his enemies astounded him, he decided to make a retreat. Sivagy, who understood (the science) of war perceived his (Chircam's) surprise, he made his troops march, the retreat was precipitated and converted into a kind of flight, the enemies pushed on and then all were scattered. Chircam fled with his son and some of his principal officers at full speed. Sivagy, who knew well that to take him prisoner was to finish the war, pursued him in the same manner. The poor chief, after having done all that was possible and being closely pursued, had time only to throw himself on the 7th into a wretched fortress called Bonnegirpatanam,^{29a} two leagues from Porto Novo where his eldest son and some of his officers joined him.

There he was then besieged by Sivagy's troops who pursued him. It was his [238v°] intention to retire into the woods of Arelour but he was so closely pursued that he could not throw himself there. It could be well imagined (believed) that this news caused us an easily conceivable anxiety; we lost thereby the only support we had on this coast.

I then pointed out to our Bramen that it would be an

^{29a} Bhuvangiripattanam, now a small union lying four miles north-west of Chidambaram and separated from it by the river Vellar. It was used by the English as a grain depot during the Carnatic wars. (Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari.)

important service to our company to try to join Chircam before he falls into Sivagy's hands for endeavouring to obtain from him some security for the company's debt. He was fully prepared for what I wanted and left on the 8th to seek Chircam.

Many cavaliers, some dismounted and stripped of everything, passed through Pondichery and retired towards the north; we assisted them as much as we could. The entire country was covered by these fugitives. There were not (even) ten cavaliers together.

On the 10th we learnt that the garrison of Valdour had left the place, that of Tequenepatan did the same thing, and the same (happened) in the other fortresses of Chircam. It could be said that so sudden a revolution had never been witnessed if we had not since (seen) instances of greater revolutions in Europe.

As we knew that Sivagy treated our nation in the factory of Rajapour favourably and even held correspondence with the Director, Monsieur Baron, the idea came to me of writing a letter to that chief in the Director's name. I communicated it to the gentlemen of the lodge who approved of the idea, the purport of the letter was that Monsieur Baron had learnt of Sivagy's departure for these parts and having no doubt that all favourable success would attend him there, he supplicated him to take under his protection the Company's servants who were in the factory of Pondichery, the rest were of a courteous character only. This letter, properly drawn and sealed, was sent to our Bramen with orders to seek Sivagy and to present to him with what we had written to him.

Sivagy's men entered into the fortress of Tequenepatan on the 11th, the commander of the troops paid a visit to the Dutch who were near the place. Believing that Chircam would not succumb so soon but (relying) still more on the assurance that we had from Sivagy that we could stay at Pondichery, I had despatched a man to Madras to report about the goods we had sent there. This man informed us that the English governor of that place had received a letter from the king of Golconde ordering him not to give any assistance to Sivagy but to be on his guards and to defy him. The prince had since recognised that he had been cheated with respect to the promise that Sivagy had made him of restoring Gingy to him. Yet the

Bramen Madena who was the author of this expedition suffered nothing and was still at the head of affairs. Being warned the same day that Sivagy had complained of us, I wrote to Madras to let our goods remain there. Two ships belonging to the English company had arrived at Madras from Europe, nothing but general information could be learnt there, the English are very reserved about important news.

We obtained information from Madras of a cruel deed committed at Bantam and (which was) contrary to the Law of Nations. The son of the king of Bantam had [284r°] some dispute with the chief of the factory that the company of England had in that town. There were angry words on either side, the young prince felt affronted and swore to have revenge. The Javanese are implacable in their hatred, without faith, and without honour.

Three days after this quarrel the chief of the company of England, accompanied by his second, two or three others of his people and the chief of the company of Denmark, went for an outing in a *balon*³⁰ (these are light boats) on the river ; while returning from the outing to come back to their lodgings the English were assassinated by some Javanese who were waiting for them in the river pretending to bathe and they held, hidden under the water, the sagayes,³¹ which they used for dealing their blows ; the chief of the Danes was dangerously wounded there, he has none the less been cured since, complaints about this action were made to the king of Bantam who promised to do justice in this matter, this is all the satisfaction England has had, she did not put herself in the trouble of pressing this matter.

On the 14th we received a letter from our Bramen dated from the town of Bonnegirpatanam, he informed me that the place has been vigorously attacked, that they spoke very ill of us in the camp for not having sent some Frenchmen for paying

³⁰ Baloon. "A rowing vessel formerly used in various parts of the Indies, the basis of which was a large canoe, or 'dug out'. There is a Mahr. word *halyānw*, a kind of barge, which is probably the original." (*Hobson Jobson*, p. 53.) The word may also be derived from Bengali *Balam*, a large rowing barge.

³¹ Assegay or *Zaghāya*, a throwing spear.

a visit to Sivagy and that he would deliver our letters the next day.

We got another letter from our Bramen on the 15th; he had seen Sivagy and presented our letters, that chief seemed to be satisfied and said that he would answer them, adding that he was surprised, no one had been sent to visit (him), the Bramen excused us as best as he could, meanwhile he warned us that it was absolutely necessary to send a Frenchman with some presents for the visit, that this was the only way of preserving us at Pondichery, the princes and the chiefs of this quarter do not ask for these ceremonies as a point of honour but for their private interest, for none ever come to visit them except with some presents. The Bramen also informed us that Chircam was parleying (with Sivagy).

On receipt of the Bramen's letter I assembled the men of the lodge on the 16th, they were all agreed that we could not do without paying a visit to Sivagy, there were only such presents as embarrassed us, we had nothing of value or of curiosity at Pondichery. At last we decided to take an old brocade of gold and silk, the colour of which was nearly gone, five or six rolls of white cloth, a gold coloured shawl, this is a kind of mantle made of fine wool with which they cover themselves, a pair of double bared pistols and four pieces of coloured linen.^{31a} This was really nothing but we could not (afford) more. *Sieur Germain* was entrusted to make these presents and *Antoine Cattel*^{31b} (was sent as) interpreter with him, they started the same day.

We received some letters from our Bramen on the 17th. He gave us notice of the agreement between Chircam and Sivagy. The former ceded all the territories under his government and engaged further to pay 2,000 pagodes in cash, as he had no money, his eldest son Ibrahimcam would remain as a prisoner until satisfaction was given with respect to this sum, all the goods that Chircam had in Goudelour were to be restored to him.

^{31a} They added to the above-mentioned articles one maund of dried dates and a maund of raisin. (See *Le Stat General des Presents et Depences faites a Pondichery*, Archives Coloniales, Correspondance Générale, Inde. 2e Série, Vol. II.)

^{31b} A Portuguese interpreter in the French service.

After the treaty had been signed by both the parties, Chircam came out of the fortress of Bonnegirpatanam, went (came) to salute Sivagy who received him cordially and who even sympathised with him. After a few words of civility he mounted his horse and betook himself to the woods of Arelour followed by twenty cavaliers. This treaty had its effect only after the payment of 2,000 pagodes for delivering Ibrahimcam from the hands of the Bramens [284 v°] from whom he had suffered much but this was done after many months and to raise this sum the princes of this quarter voluntarily taxed themselves either from amity or from pity. Chircam was not in a position to furnish it. He could do nothing to get back the goods he had at Goudelour. Two Bramens sent by Sivagy arrived at Pondichery for (the government of) governing this colony.

At the present juncture an evil affair was about to befall us and it would have caused us some trouble if it had not been promptly settled. One of our men had for his valet a small boy of the caste or tribe of *parias*,³² the master surprised him in some offence and chastised him so severely that he died the next day, his death alarmed the whole tribe, they sent to make their complaints to me and demanded that I should do justice. The Frenchman had already been put into prison but this did not satisfy them. They resolved to salt the dead body and to carry it through the country with a view to assemble all the people of the tribe for coming to force us. I gave order to some men to settle this matter, they succeeded therein with a little money which was distributed among the principal men of the caste. It would do us a considerable damage if the Bramens had entered there. The Frenchman whom I caused to be thrown into prison fell ill there, I had him taken out, he died after

³² Pariah. "The name of a low caste of Hindus in Southern India, constituting one of the most numerous castes, if not *the* most numerous, in the Tamil country. The word in its present shape means properly 'a drummer.' As with other castes low in caste-rank they are also low in habits, frequently eating carrion and other objectionable food and addicted to drink. From their coming into contact with and under observation of Europeans, more habitually than any similar caste, the name *Pariah* has come to be regarded as applicable to the whole body of the lowest castes, or even to denote outcastes or people without any caste. But this is hardly a correct use. There are several castes in the Tamil country considered to be lower than the *Pariahs*." (*Hobson Jobson*, pp. 678-679.)

some days.

When the garrison of Valdour abandoned that place, a relative of Chircam who was there, sent me a horse to be kept for him ; the Bramens having been informed, demanded it, and we were compelled to deliver it to them.

I received one more letter from our Bramen on the 18th which confirmed the news of Chircam's treaty, that Sivagy after having examined the fortress of Bonnegirpatanam had given orders to demolish it, the majority of the oppulent people of this country had withdrawn themselves to the woods of Arelour, Sivagy wrote to the Naique to send them (back) and threatened to ruin him if he failed, the Naique did not yield to his threats, besides he was in a place where it was not easy to force him. Sivagy sent some Bramens to all villages in the country for governing them, the number of these scamp who had followed Sivagy for trying to get some employment is something amazing, they counted more than twenty thousand. The people known to have some property who had stayed in the country were arrested as well as some Moorish merchants who were at Porto Novo, and solely for drawing money all those who had the reputation of having it were hunted.

I got the same day a letter from Sieurs Germain and Cattel about their arrival at Bonnegirpatanam, Sivagy had left that town for proceeding still further, they must follow in order to overtake that chief. They gave me news of having met a body of horsemen who conducted three hundred horses that were led by hand and four elephants that had been captured from Chircam, these were taken to Gingy.

There arrived at Pondichery one of those French deserters who had gone to Golconde. Of them there was no more than a residue of fifty-two. They had killed [285r°] one another, many died of debauchery and horror among the country people, there was only the king (of Golconde) who continued to support them.

I received on the 20th some letters from Sieurs Germain and Cattel. They had joined our Bramen who was informed by them of the present that they carried. He did not find them to be of proper value. They asked of me 15 rolls of scarlet cloth to be added to them, some coloured linen and fifty pagodes in cash. We had no cloth, we sent the coloured linen and the

fifty pagodes. The Naique of Arelour had attacked some troops of Sivagy, killed some horsemen and captured horses in the woods.

On the 24th I received some letters from Sieurs Germain and Cattel. They had been arrested with our Bramen and led into the fortress of Paleamcote, the governor would not recognise them. He wanted to see a copy of the *firman* we had from Sivagy, I caused it to be forwarded immediately. I sent it by express on the 29th. I learnt that they had got it and they had set out to find Sivagy. The Governor of Paleamcote gave them some sepoys (*lascarins*) as escorts.

Sivagy acted as master everywhere. He wrote to the governor of Madras to turn out of the town all the people who had withdrawn there from the territories of Chircam, he even threw some menaces if he should delay to execute it. The governor, however, mocked him; several small places serving only to cause the expense of maintaining the garrison, the artillery and the munition were destroyed, what were within were transported to Gingy; the majority of the officers of the king of Golconde, who had followed Sivagy, enlisted themselves in his service, some were from the country and others from the (seats of) government. No one could pass through the country without a pass from Sivagy's officers. The express that had brought us the letter of Sieurs Germain and Cattel had encountered two Dutchmen in *Palanquins*,³³ others on horseback and a numerous retinue of soldiers of the country and of men laden with present, who went to pay a visit to Sivagy.

There were under arrest in the lodge two men who were to pay 300 *écus* on Chircam's account, the Bramens had information about them, they forced us to surrender these men to them.

I report all these details to make known the tyranny of the government of these scums of Bramens. They went so far that during the absence of our Bramen they wanted to seize all that he had in his house on the pretext that a brother of his managed at Porto Novo the affairs of the commander-in-chief

³³ "A box litter for travelling in, with a pole projecting before and behind, which is borne on the shoulders of 4 or 6 men." (*Hobson Jobson*, p. 659.)

Baloulcam and that he must have still some of his goods. That man had retired to the southern direction, they claimed that his relatives were to represent him. Nevertheless I settled this matter, meanwhile I sent information of this conduct to Sieurs Germain and Cattel.

AUGUST

Some days expired without getting any news from the outside as orders had been issued not to let letters pass through the country.

One of our men whom I had sent to obtain some news about Chircam returned on the 6th August. He had been to the woods of Arelour where he had met that chief from whom he had brought me word from an unsigned letter. He testified therein that he was much obliged to us for having recollected him in his misfortune, that he repented for not following the advice of his friends rather than the counsel of the Bramens who had deceived him. He still expected some succour from Visiapour which would afford him means to re-establish himself. The express charged with the letter reported [285v°] that Chircam had been well received by the Naique of Arelour and had been lodged sufficiently well according to his rank, that many cavaliers, to the number of four to five hundred men, had retired there, that Chircam had written to the petty princes of the locality to see whether they would assemble to create some disturbances, but there was little appearance that they would declare against Sivagy.

The Sieurs Germain and Cattel and the Bramen returned to Pondichery on the 9th. They had gone to the camp of Sivagy on the bank of the river Couleron³⁴ where he was encamped with

³⁴ Coleroon. "The chief mouth or delta-branch, of the Kāveri River. It is a Portuguese corruption of the proper name *Kōllidam*, vulg, *Kollaḍam*. This name from Tam. *kōl*, 'to receive' and '*idam*', 'place' perhaps answers to the fact of this channel having been originally an escape formed at the construction of the great Tanjore irrigation works in the 11th century. In full flood the Coleroon is now, in places, nearly a mile wide, whilst the original stream of the Kāveri disappears before reaching the sea. Besides the etymology and the tradition, the absence of notice of the Coleroon in Ptolemy's Tables is an indication of its modern origin. As the sudden rise of floods in the rivers of the Coromandel coast often causes fatal accidents, there seems a curious popular tendency to connect the

him army. They were introduced to the audience of that chief by the minister who had served our Bramen in the camp before Velour, the presents were offered. Sivagy did not make much account of them but he had been informed that we were not very opulent and we had no commerce. The minister had for his part some coloured linen and money in cash, this was given to despatch them in a day or two.^{34a}

They remained three days only in the camp. Sivagy caused a formal *firman* for our security at Pondichery to be delivered to them. He wrote to me and also replied to the letter of Monsieur the Director. The minister also answered my letter, our people got a present of one piece of cloth each and four or five pagodes per head, after which they had the leave to depart.

I have already remarked that Sivagy had some claims against Ecugy, his brother by his father, with respect to the succession to the deceased. Ecugy had in his possession one-third of the lands of Gingy which their common parent Sagi-magro^{34b} held on his part. There were also his personal property and valuable effects. Sivagy demanded his share of these goods. He had written several times to Ecugy to come and meet him, and that they would settle the matter between them, the latter recoiled, at last after having taken, according to his idea, all possible securities from his brother by some oaths, customary

names of the rivers with this fact. Thus *Kolliḍam*, with the meaning that has been explained, has been commonly made into *Kolliḍam* 'killing-place'. Fra Paolino gives the name as properly *colārru*, and as meaning 'the River of Wild Boars'! But his etymologies are often wild as the supposed Boars." (*Hobson Jobson*, pp. 234-235.)

^{34a} From *Le stat General des Presentes et Depences faites a Pondichery depuis le 18 8'bre 1673 jusque au 31 aoust 1693* (Archives Coloniales, Correspondance Générale, Inde, 2e Série, Vol. II), it appears that the following officers also got presents at the same time as Shivaji.

- (1) Subedar or Governor of Jinji.
- (2) Janardan Pandit, General of Shivaji's army.
- (3) Dauda Pandit, his principal Brahman.
- (4) Majumdar of Jinji.
- (5) The Governor's scribes.
- (6) The brother of the Governor of Tiruvady who was appointed to take possession of Pondichery.

^{34b} Shahaji Maharaj. The name has been similarly transliterated in another manuscript, *Mémoires sur la Compagnie des Indes Orientales 1642-1720*. (Fr. 6231 of Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris.)

among them, but which were not inviolable to those who cared more for their interest than for religion, Ecugy crossed the river Couleron and came to see Sivagy. The first conversations gave evidence of amity and tenderness only, then it came to the negotiation when Ecugy discovered that his brother would not let him go unless he had satisfied him about his claims. He also used his cunning and while he offered friendly words he sought some means of withdrawing himself from such a bad strait, he succeeded therein one night, he had a *cattamaron*³⁵ kept ready for him on the banks of the Couleron under pretext of necessity, for he was watched, he approached the banks of the river, threw himself into the *cattamaron* and crossed to the other side which was his country and where he had some troops. On receipt of the information which was given to Sivagy he caused Ecugy's men who were in his camp to be arrested, among them (was) one Jagarnatpendit,³⁶ a Bramen who commanded the troops of his (Sivagy's) brother, a man of courage and ability. The brothers did not meet again since, however, Sivagy took possession of a part of the lands of Gingy which belonged to Ecugy, but it would have cost him more if he had remained in the camp.

The camp of Sivagy was only five or six hundred paces from the woods of Arelour which extended very far and from where every night a number of horses was carried away. There were people in these woods who were skilled in horse lifting.^{36a}

³⁵ "Catamarán, Tam., *Kaṭṭu*, 'binding', *Maram*, 'wood'. A raft formed of three or four logs of wood lashed together." (*Hobson Jobson*, p. 173.) "The Cattamaran is a raft composed usually of three, but sometimes of four logs of wood, which are fastened together with ropes made from the Cocoa-nut Tree. These are cut to a point at one end, whilst the other is left broad and flat; the opposing surfaces at the junction of the sides of the wood are made smooth but the upper and under parts of the raft are rounded off. They are paddled along by the Natives, and by their means communication can be held with the ships in the roads, much quicker than by Massoolah Boat and in weather when the latter could not venture through the surf." (J. J. Cotton, *Indian Historical Records Commission, Proceedings of Meetings*, Vol. VI, p. 48.)

³⁶ Jagannath Pandit, son of Vyankaji Datto, Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad says that Ekoji's Peshwa, Kakaji Pant, and Majumdar, Konher Pant were also with him. They were dismissed by Shivaji with presents and sent back to their master. (Sen, *Siva Chhatrapati*, pp. 125-126). According to the *Shahanav Kalmi Bakhar* Jagannath was Ekoji's *Dhwan*, (p. 37).

^{36a} Martin is referring here to the Kallars of Ariyalur. Orme writes

Sivagy complained about it, the Naique mocked him and always replied [286r°] that these were not his people, meanwhile more than four or five hundred horses had already been stolen. Sieurs Germain and Cattel were witnesses of a most daring coup, they had proceeded two or three hundred paces in the camp for the shelter of a tree-shade. They saw an ugly man enter with a kind of sickle in one hand a cord in the other and a wretched piece of cloth in the middle of his body, in the garb of a grass-cutter. This man entered into the camp, it was about midday, the horses were fastened about their legs with cords that held them to the stakes, and the horsemen were lying on the earth. Some of them were asleep. After having observed things and noticed a valuable horse, the thief cut all of a sudden the ropes, which were fastened round the horse's legs, passed the cord he had round its neck in the form of a halter, jumped upon the bare back of the horse and pressed it out of the camp. Before a pursuit had been thought of, he had already reached the woods. The camp of Sivagy was without pomp, without women, there were no baggages, only two tents but of simple cloth, coarse and very scanty, one for him and the other for his prime minister.

About half a league from the camp our men again met the about them: "The subjects of this, as well as of all the other Polygars in the southern part of the peninsula, are Colleries, a people differing in many respects from the rest of the Indians, and hitherto little known to Europeans; they sally in the night from their recesses and strong-holds to plunder the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages of their cattle, which if they cannot bring away alive, they kill with their long spears: by constant practice in these exploits they acquire so much dexterity and audacity that they will for hire undertake to steal and bring off a horse even from the centre of a camp; they are so far from thinking it a disgrace to be accounted thieves, that they value themselves upon excelling in the profession, and relate to strangers stories of desperate and successful thefts accomplished by their countrymen, with as much complacency as other people commemorate the heroic actions of their ancestors; and indeed when booty is the object, they regard danger and death with indifference. Of the party of Colleries employed at that time (1755) by the English to steal the enemy's horses, two brothers were taken up and convicted of having stolen, at different times, all the horses belonging to major Lawrence and captain Clive. Father Martin, a jesuit, who resided ten years in the neighbouring country of Morawa, describes the Collaries as more barbarous than any savages in any part of the globe." (*War in Indostan*, Vol. I, second edition, pp. 381-382.)

Dutch who came to pay their visits. There were two of them in *palanquins* as I have already mentioned, one was the chief of their factory at Tequenepatan, the other, a merchant skilled in the oriental languages. They had a retinue of some European soldiers, some led horses, (their) banners and pavilions, instruments according to the fashion of the land, forty or fifty soldiers of the country, many men and oxen laden with presents, provisions, tents, even chairs, tables and bedsteads, in as much as they were not short of anything during their journey. Our people stopped at a place near which they came to encamp. The Dutch sent (a messenger) offering them their compliments and the option of (either) their going to see them (the French) or if they (the French) cared to take the trouble of their coming to see (the Dutch) them. Sieurs Germain and Cattel had not the equipage for receiving a visit, that made them accept the option of going to their camp. They were well received there, toasts, were not spared, the envoys informed themselves of the methods of treating with Sivagy, our men courteously told them what they knew about it, after which they retired.

This kind of embassy of the Dutch had not all the success that they expected from it. They were well received by Sivagy just as their presents, but afterwards a sum of 25 to 30 thousand *écus* was demanded of them upon the sole pretext that it was needed, the envoys excused themselves and replied that it was necessary to write to their masters. They were detained in the camp for two or three months to their great expense, and they only extricated themselves by several thousands of pagodes, which they had to give, (but) of which the ministers had the best part.

The misrule, on the part of the Bramens continued, everything was seized. A Capuchin father who served as the almoner in the lodge went to Porto Novo. I ordered a horse to be given him for this journey. On the way he was dismounted by the cavaliers of Sivagy who took possession of the conveyance which we could not get restored.

Our Bramen was always pursued, it was pretended that he must represent his brother who had managed the affairs of the Generallissimo Baloulcam at Porto Novo as I have already mentioned. There were even [286v°] orders for arresting him. It was necessary to finish this matter. He could not find a

surer means than to go to Sivagy for getting an assurance from him. After his departure they caused to be sealed the door of his house where his father and mother, each aged more than eighty years, were shut with the women and the children, and it was forbidden to let anything enter or leave, however, as there was no justice in letting people of such age and innocent children die of hunger, I caused the seal to be removed so that people had the liberty to bring them the necessaries.

The Soubedar of the country (a kind of Intendant who looked after the revenue of the lands under his charge and caused the revenue farmer and the officers of the villages and of the colonies to render account thereof) arrived at Pondichery on the 15th with some cavalry and infantry. I sent to wait on him Sieurs Germain and Cattel who accompanied him to house of the avaldar. This haughty and insolent man complained that I had not been to receive him and then ordered that all the country people in the service of the company should be made to come. I stopped it and sent our interpreter to tell the Soubedar that these people were not under his jurisdiction. He came to menaces and added that he knew well that we had the goods of Chircam in the lodge and he would force us to deliver them. The interpreter who was a man of spirit answered him very accurately but firmly, however, this officer came back in order to show that we did not fear him ; it became necessary to decide to pay him a visit at his house, this we did on the 16th. I presented him several rolls of cloth and some calicoes, his scribes also had their share. He left on the 17th in the morning to continue his visit in the country.

During the whole of the rest of the month there was a continual hunt for people believed to be able to give money. The Dutch were (like) practically invested in their lodge at Tequenepatan and were forced to give present in order to have free entree and exit, letters written to Sivagy served no purpose, his answers were in truth courteous and full of friendly assurances but his Bramens had his word for not complying with them, the petty princes of these quarters then recognised the mistake they had committed in not uniting themselves to oppose jointly the entry of Sivagy. Ecugy was most concerned about it on account of his loss of the lands he had under the jurisdiction of Gingy, which was taken from him by his brother during the

rest of this month with the same rapidity with which he had taken possession of those of Chircam. Sivagy after having examined the site of Gingy, which offered a very great protection, gave orders to cut off a part, to demolish the colonies outside and to make new fortifications.

SEPTEMBER

There are no important notes to make in the month of September with respect to us except that the Bramens always sought to do some injury, applying themselves directly to us or to the people of the country who were in service of the company.

During the whole of this month we received letters from Chircam based on the high hopes he had that assistance would come from Visiapour and that he would organise a league of the princes of these quarters against Sivagy, but there was little sign of either the one or the other. Baloulcam, the commander-in-chief, was not in a condition to detach a body of his troops to send to these parts, and the neighbouring princes were too intimidated by the mere name of Sivagy to unite against him and still slow to decide on their expedition. Chircam intimated in a letter that the sum necessary for releasing his son Ibrahimcam was ready by the liberality of his friends, each [287r°] (of them) having contributed, with a shortage, however, of 3,000 *écus* which he requested me to send and which he would pay off later on. I replied him that he knew well that we were without money and he had applied (to the) wrong (place). It is believed that it was the policy of this chief to make a beggar of himself. It is in this belief that the Naique of Arelour gave him two villages yielding a revenue of 1,500 *écus* per year. It is, however, credited that he had some effects under the private charge of his principal wife who took possession of precious stones and jewels which are supposed to be worth nearly hundred thousand *écus*.

Sivagy continued his conquests, the governor of Velour still defended himself, only this place resisted him, meanwhile the state he had in the Decan and on the coast of India suffered in his absence. He held a grand council with his minister and resolved to return there from these parts. He left the govern-

ment of these quarters to Ragarnatpendit,³⁷ brother of his minister Janardanpendit, and some troops to finish the conquest that remained to be accomplished. This prince was so uncommunicative about his plans that long after he had left, many people were persuaded that he was still in the province. His name alone struck his enemies with terror.

This month I received a letter from Surate, as there was no commerce in this factory there was nothing new about the affairs of the company, there was peace in the lodge. I continued to give the Director, Monsieur Baron, information about the condition of these parts.

Many ships returned to the coast from Bantam and from other places. The English and the Dutch continued their commerce as usual, only our company did nothing.

OCTOBER

There was nothing particular in the month of October except the continuation of vexation by the present government to the people of the country irrespective of persons and nation. The Dutch had their share (of trouble) at Tequenepatan on the pretext that they had some goods of the Bramens who had been in the service of Chircam. It was also intended to impose a tax upon the country people who were in the service of their (Dutch) company and the same thing (was tried) at Pondichery on our (employees). We always opposed it. We wrote about it to our Bramen who was near the governor of the province but the Soubedars or Intendants had an understanding with the officer. All the methods of exacting money were allowed and approved, however, we resisted (their efforts) so far as people in our service were concerned, we always prevented them from being taxed.

We were assured that Sivagy had retired, ever conquering and capturing places while making his way, the princes of these parts had good game for the present. Ecugy also asked others to unite with him. He had even taken the field with his troops. The fortune of Sivagy prevailed over all, the other chiefs were very much confident of preserving their estates.

Chircam was still in the woods of Arelour full of high hopes.

³⁷ The celebrated Raghunath Narayan Hanmante.

I received his letters from time to time. The war continued in the kingdom of Visiapour, Baloulcam, joined with Delalcam, one of the generals of the Mogol, against the king of Golconde and the party of the Daquenis.³⁸ There was a vigorous action, Delelcam and Baloulcam with 14 to 15 thousand horse made a retreat for eight days fighting constantly before the army of their enemies consisting of more than 40,000 horse and 50,000 infantry they extricated themselves vigorously. [287v°].

NOVEMBER

Nearly the whole of the month of November passed in rain which is usual during the northern monsoon that often commences at the end of October or at the beginning of November. This wind, however, did not moderate the ardour of Sivagy's officers for exacting money by all possible means. There were several orders reiterated for making the dyers and other country people, who were in the service of the company at Pondichery pay, and even for arresting some whom we got released. It was necessary even to use violence. We wrote about it to the governor-general of the province. We indicated that we would not suffer the privileges we had obtained to be touched. This affair still dragged on, meanwhile we forbade our men to pay anything.

The troops that Sivagy had left in these quarters continued their conquests and prepared themselves even to cross the river Couleron for entering the territories of Taniaour and of the other neighbouring princes. Ecugy opposed them with four or five thousand horse and several thousand infantry. The two

³⁸ In 1677 an alliance was formed between Bijapur and the Moghul Government. The Mogul General Diler Khan was a Pathan and he naturally befriended Bahlol Khan who belonged to the same race. The invasion of Golkonda, however, proved a failure "From Kulbarga, the last Mughal outpost, they advanced to Malkhed, 20 miles eastwards, the first enemy fort on the way to Golkonda. But near Malkhed, 80 miles from the capital, the tide of invasion was arrested. The Mughal Van, some 5,000 cavalry under Bahlol Khan advanced, but were opposed by five times their number of Qutb Shahi troops under renowned leaders. After a long and severe battle, Bahlol was about to be routed, when Dilir Khan came to his aid and enabled him to make an orderly retreat." (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. IV, pp. 144-148.)

armies lay in view of each other but without attempting anything. Meanwhile the envoys of the two sides sought to discover some way of agreement. The troops of Ecugy were not so numerous as those of Sivagy, but his cavalry was much superior, it is also said that because the gentiles (Hindus) are very superstitious and as they draw their good or bad omens from everything that presents itself (to them), Sivagy's officers had not dared to attack on the apprehension that they would have an ill success, on account of a number of vultures that flew over the camp without ceasing for several days. This is a bad sign with them.

At the time of Sivagy's departure that chief gave orders to destroy many small places situated in the plain country and to construct some fortresses on the mountains and heights he had noticed. To fortify themselves on elevated places is an industry general among the gentiles (Hindus). Ruins of many places in the Carnate and in the kingdom of Golconde of which they had once been masters are still seen.

It will not be out of place to mention that the cavaliers of Sevagy ordinarily got for their pay two pagodes per month. All the horses belonged to that chief who employed some grooms to take care of them, the cavaliers did not in any way meddle with them. There were ordinarily three horses for two men, this is what contributed to his usual celerity. He also frequently surprised his enemies who thought him to be far off when he fell upon them. I have already remarked that his camp was not encumbered with baggages or women. The families of those cavaliers who belonged to these parts were stationed in the lands of the coast of India, this is what attached them to his service. This chief also paid his spies liberally, who have given him considerable facilities for his conquests by the sure information they have supplied him.

Sieur de Jager, one of the Dutch envoys at the camp of Sivagy, was at last released during this month. He passed through Pondichery. . . . (here follows news of war in Europe)* * * [288r°] * * *

A great battle was fought on the 26th of this month between the armies of Sivagy and Ecugy. It was the latter who commenced it, the *mele* was severe for the people of these parts, many were killed and wounded, among those were some men

of importance. The two parties retreated and the loss was almost equal.

Chircam was still in the forest of Arelour, if he had money he could have attempted something but he was short of funds. He waited for some change to take place in the affairs of Visiapour.

DECEMBER

The war between the troops of Sivagy and Ecugy still continued, detachments of both the parties harried the country and destroyed everything.

JANUARY, 1678

The petty princes of these quarters always waged war against one another and came to terms a few days afterwards. It is the genius (spirit) of the Hindus not to make a rule of keeping their word while they see some way of aggrandising themselves at the expense of their neighbours, this always preserved their hatred against one another and this made them lose in course of time the authority that they had in this part of India.

* * *

[288v°]

This month I sent several times to Chircam who was still in the woods of Arelour for trying to obtain the money, that chief postponed (payment) in the hope he held out to us that we should soon witness some change in his affairs. His son was on the point of being released, one Santagy,^{38a} brother of Sivagy on his father's side, had stood bail for his ransom. The conditions were that after Ibrahimcam should arrive in the wood of Arelour, Chircam would not stay there more than a few days and he should then withdraw to the territories of Maduré or Mousour.^{38b}

The officers of Sivagy who were in the province, observing how little of union other Hindu princes could expect among

^{38a} Shantaji, a natural son of Shahaji, joined Shivaji after his arrival in the Karnatak. He fought against Ekoji with success and converted a defeat into a victory after Shivaji had left for home.

^{38b} Mysore.

themselves on account of the scanty chance of their being ever able to reconcile their interests, (saw) the facility they (Sivagy's men) would have of crushing them (the princes) whenever they would like to come there, (and they) did not think it necessary to keep all the cavalry they had, (and) decided to keep only three to four thousand horse and to send the rest to Sivagy, who saw the prospect of having both the Daquenis and the Patans on his hands, by the agreement that came to be concluded between these two nations.

After the glorious retreat of Delelcam and Baloulcam before the army of the king of Golconde supported by the Daqueni faction, their common friends interposed (mediated) to bring about peace. There was some difficulty in inducing interested (persons) to consent, however, the agreement was concluded on condition that the ministership of the kingdom of Visiapour would always remain with the Daquenis, of whom Sedimousour was at present the chief, and the office of generalissimo (would similarly belong to) with the Patans of whom Baloulcam was the leader, and endeavour should be made to restore the territories of the kingdom siezed by Sivagy.^{38c} After this agreement, the two parties entertained each other in turn and swore to observe the terms of the treaty. I had written to Baloulcam, the two expresses, I had sent, were with the army at the time of this settlement. The chief gave me a very civil reply and also sent me information about this agreement. He charged me also to continue our amity with Chircam and assured me that we would soon witness some changes in these parts. Two days after the return of the express I received some letters from Sieur Destreman, who was at Golconde, wherein he gave me notice of Baloulcam's death (which took place) several days after the conclusion of the treaty, and that chief, before dying, had exhorted all the grandees of Visiapour to be loyal to their king

^{38c} "Abul Hassan Qutb Shah brought the heads of the rival factions together and influenced them to agree to the following terms ; (i) Bahlol should resign the regency in favour of Masaud ; (ii) Masaud should pay six lakhs of rupees, the arrears of pay due to the Afghan soldiers, who would then be disbanded and would quit Bijapur, while Bahlol would retire to his own fief ; (iii) the kingdom was to be saved from further dismemberment ; and (iv) a Resident from Golkonda would advise the administration of Bijapur." (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. IV, p. 150.)

and to exert themselves for the restoration of this kingdom to its former glory. He also recommended to them his children and the Daquenis engaged themselves to maintain them in the possession of the offices and the lands of their father. Baloulcam lived morally well (in strict morality ?), he was a man of his word, little given to women, who did not drink wine, who did not smoke tobacco, and who did not eat betels, which is very rare among Indian Mahomettans. His death was very painful to Chircam and caused all the hopes that he had of re-establishing himself vanish away.

* * *

[289r°]

At the end of this month we had again confirmation (of the news) of Baloulcam's death and that the king of Golconde had almost made his peace with the Mogol by means of hundred lacs of Roupies that he was to pay, 25 lacs in cash, and the remaining 75 lacs in five or six years. They speak (there is a rumour) also of a union between the Mogol, the king of Golconde and the nobles of Visiapour for waging war against Sivagy, of which, however, there is little sign, it was the interest of Golconde and Visiapour not to prevent Sivagy from making raids against the state of the Mogol, this offered an occupation for the armies of that great prince who would undoubtedly turn them elsewhere if he got rid of this enemy. The Bramens still continued to make the poor people suffer and they spared none.

FEBRUARY

It is known that at the commencement of this month a kind of settlement was proposed to Chircam by the officers of Sivagy. It is said even (that they proposed) to restore to him Goudelour of which he would be the absolute master and where he would have the liberty of carrying on his business. He was even permitted to build a mosque which he had commenced to raise there and wherein his men were once employed. It is supposed that the general who governed these territories apprehended the reported alliance of the Mogol, the king of Golconde and the chiefs of Visiapour for conjointly waging war against Sivagy, and as Chircam was much liked by the petty Hindu princes of

these parts, and the revolution that had taken place there, would not find them so well disposed as not to ally themselves with Chircam in order to try to restore things to their previous condition, and it (was this reason that) obliged the general of the province to treat with this chief. This matter resulted in nothing.

They were vigorously labouring at Gingy for demolishing a portion of the wall of that place and to fortify the (area) enclosed by it.

Chircam informed us that his son Ibrahimcam had at last been released and that he had arrived near him. I sent (an envoy) to congratulate him on this deliverance and a small present according to the custom, the envoy had orders also to press for money.

The Soubedar or Intendant of these parts came to Pondichery, he was a rude, violent, and selfish man as all Bramens are. At first he wanted to impose a tax upon all the people who were in the service of the company, which was against the order and the privileges we had. We opposed ourselves to this. Meanwhile as he knew that we could not [289v°] do anything, that we were weak and that there came no ships for us, he caused many of our men to be arrested. After four or five days of dispute we were forced to give him a present of a small horse of Achem³⁹ and several pagodes in cash. A few things were also given to his following. Our people were released thereby and things remained as before. These formed the only way of getting on with the people of India when one was not in a condition to oppose by force the injuries they wanted to commit.

MARCH

At the commencement of the month of March some proposals were made to Chircam by the general of the province for engaging him and his son to take part in Sivagy's service. This chief always expected (help) from the side of Visiapour. This held him back, besides he mistrusted the general. Meanwhile, as he could not remain with advantage in the words of Arelour, he prepared himself to go to some one of the neighbouring petty princes. Throughout the month I pressed him by many envoys

³⁹ Acheen, a small town and state in Sumatra.

again and again for the money. He always replied that he could not pay. At last he sent by one of our men a quantity of emeralds which he estimated at thousand *écus* but which was not worth a quarter. It is certain that this chief was very down, the Naique of Arelour furnished him a part of his subsistence.

Although the agreement, that had been concluded between the Daquenis and the Patans, apparently should have restored peace in the kingdom of Visiapour and contributed to the re-establishment of that state, none-the-less the two nations sought incessantly some occasions for falling out, the party of the Patans being considerably weakened by the death of Baloulcam little sign was perceived of the deceased generalissimo's sons' succeeding to the offices of their father, the Daqueni faction, being stronger, wanted everything for itself. This is what was communicated to us from Golconde as well as (the news of) the confirmation of the treaty (concluded) between the Mogol and that state by means of hundred lacs of Roupies that the king engaged to pay.

The Dutch had not been able till now to obtain the *firman* from Sivagy's officers for the security of their commerce at Tequenepatan, they at length got it and the permission to establish themselves at Porto Novo on the same terms as in the time of Chircam's government. This affair has cost them a good deal.

* * *

Chircam wrote to the sons of the deceased generalissimo Baloulcam, he sent me the letters and requested me to arrange their delivery (to make them reach). He also told me that it would serve us well if I should write to them. I followed his advice and despatched the express to Visiapour.

* * *

APRIL

[290r°]

We had information from Golconde that there was serious division in that court. The ministers Madena was tired of seeing still so many great Persian, Patan and Daqueni nobles drawing considerable salaries. He caused diverse documents to be drawn under the signature of everyone of them in order to compel them to give up their employment. He even reduced the salary

of some. There were some among these who raised themselves against this Bramen and who spoke loudly. However, by a subtle and malicious policy he at last consummated his design by expelling the old officers and filling the principal offices with Bramens, this is what has at last caused the death of this disloyal minister and the fall of the kingdom.

* * *

The rumour still ran that some troops of Visiapour were on their march with a view to come to these parts. From the precautions (that we have noticed) which they took for furnishing their places with provisions and munitions of war, it appeared that even Sivagy's officers apprehended it. However, the best [290v°] informed (people) gave no credence to it.

* * *

A Bramen, we had near Chircam, informed us that he had retired to Trichinapely,⁴⁰ to the court of the Naique of Maduré, that chief appeared to be much embarrassed with himself. There was no occasion of getting anything from him.

* * *

MAY

Sivagy's officers continued their outrages on the inhabitants (of this part). There were some ancient grants made by princes of the country to diverse private people. These were resumed (including) even those of the Hindu *pandarams*,⁴¹ these are

⁴⁰ "A district and once famous rock-fort of S. India. The etymology and proper form of the name has been the subject of much difference. Mr. C. P. Brown gives the true name as *Chiruta-palli*, 'Little Town'. But this may be safely rejected as mere guess, inconsistent with facts. The earliest occurrence of the name on an inscription is about 1520 as *Tiru-ssilla-palli*, apparently 'Holy-rock-town'. In the *Tevāram* the place is said to be mentioned under the name of *Sirapalli*. Some derive it from *Tri-sirapuram*, 'Three-head-town, with allusion to a 'three-headed demon'. (*Hobson Jobson*, pp. 938-939.) The city is on the right bank of the Kaveri, 250 miles by rail s.-w. from Madras. (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 27, p. 265.)

⁴¹ "A Hindu ascetic mendicant of the (so called) *śūdra*, or even of a lower caste. A priest of the lower Hindu castes of S. India and Ceylon. Tamil, *Paṇḍāram*. C. P. Brown says the *Paṇḍāram* is probably a Vaishnava, but other authors apply the name to *śaiva* priests." (*Hobson Jobson*, p. 666.)

people almost retired from the world to a life apparently very austere. There was one of these *pandarams* in a small village, north of Pondichery, who derived a large revenue from lands granted even by some Mahomettan princes though they were of a hostile religion. This man, who passed for a saint among the Hindus, gave food to all the travellers generally without distinction of religion or race. I had the curiosity of seeing there one evening sixty travellers eat, they rationed themselves at his place, to each was judiciously given a quantity of country food sufficient to satisfy a man. Some times there met nearly one thousand people on their return from a (place of) pilgrimage that is near it and none was ever denied (food). The *pandaram* was not spared, the best part of his revenue was exacted from him, though the Bramens perform [291r°] the function of priests and sacrificers among the Hindus and they should on that account maintain the religion, their self interest carried them so far as to refuse to celebrate a festival that was made every year in a *pagode*,⁴² two small leagues from Pondichery, because they found that that they would have to bear the expense thereof. They permitted some private people to make the expenditure (in this connection), a number of people from different places came there, each made his offerings according to his means or his devotion. The festival, that lasted for eleven days, being over, the same Bramens wanted to know how much amounted the cost of the ceremony and the receipt from offerings. It was found that somewhat more was received which they seized. Their interest alone forms the religion of the Bramens.

Chircam was all the time at Trichinapely much embarrassed with himself. Our envoy was always near him to press him for the money, but without being able to advance anything, he sent us another instalment of emerald which he estimated at 500 *écus* but which was not worth the half. This chief had the mis-

⁴² Pagoda. "This obscure and remarkable word is used in three different senses: (a) An idol temple; and also specifically, in China, a particular form of religious edifice, of which the famous 'Porcelain tower' of Nanking, now destroyed, may be recalled as typical. In the 17th century we find the word sometimes misapplied to places of Mahomedan worship, as by Fariya-y-Sousa, who speaks of the 'Pagoda of Mecca'; (b) An idol; (c) A coin long current in S. India. The coins so called were both gold and silver, but generally gold." (*Hobson Jobson*, pp. 652-653.)

fortune of going to seek bread from people whom he scorned before his disgrace.

* * *

[291v°]

We had information that Chircam after having waited for the Naique of Maduré at Trichinapely,—that prince having arrived there and remained three days without having spoken of giving him an audience,—got vexed and returned to the woods of Arelour. While on his way, the Naique sent some men after him to make him retrace his steps, he did not want to hear of it and pursued his way. The chief of Arelour received him very well as usual. Ecugy and other Hindu princes made offers of employing him which he refused. It appears that he did not trust them, he was the only man who could uphold the party of the Moors and that of Visiapour in these parts, he had some credit with the people, and if he had some forces he would be able to restore himself to a condition to (establish authority) take all Hindus to account and perhaps these princes sought to employ him among them in order to arrest him. Sivagy's officers, learning that he had returned to the woods, sent (envoys) to threaten the Naique of Arelour that unless he compelled him (Chircam) to leave, they would declare war against him (Naique). This poor chief was in a pitiable condition not having a single assured place of retreat, our envoy was always with him for trying to get the money but with little signs of succeeding therein. Rumours still ran that troops from Visiapour would come ; credence however, was not given them, that kingdom not being in a position to send forces to these parts.

JULY

We received also some letters from the eldest son of the late noble Baloulcam on whom at last the office of his father had been conferred. This chief sent us (some letters) for Chircam also. He advised us to continue the amity that existed between us and that we would soon find the troops of Visiapour in these quarters.

* * *

[292v°]

Sivagy's officers always pressed Chircam to get out of the woods of Arelour and always threatened the Naique with waging war against him.

There was always something to say about the conduct of the Bramens, their spite in committing treachery and at last unscrupulously hurling themselves as on lost bodies on all occasions where there was chance of getting money. I have already said enough about it, it seems to me that one ought to know this wicked caste.

* * *

AUGUST

We had by the same means some letters from Golconde about the arrival of an ambassador of the Mogol who had been received there with all the honours that could be rendered to a soveirgn at the audience that he had of the king of Golconde. He demanded of the king three crores of Roupies, 3,00,00,000 of this money in cash, it would be difficult to believe if Sieur Destreman had not assured us of learning it from good quarters. This ambassador also demanded 12,000 horse for making war against Sivagy. The king of Golconde replied that as for the money, his finances were exhausted, and as for 12,000 horse, they were ready and that he himself would go at their head. It was added that the prince could not, however, avoid paying (at least) a part of so considerable a sum. The great lords of his court, perceiving the weakness of the government of this prince and that he entrusted it entirely to the minister Madena who daily reduced their salaries, kept some understanding with the court of the Mogol. It is believed that it was by their advice that considerable sums were daily demanded with the object of having a pretext of attacking the kingdom if they were refused, or if the money or a part of it was paid it would still ruin and render the king incapable of raising troops when he would be attacked.

It would be a matter of surprise, knowing (as we do) the grandeur of the Mogol and the troops he had ready, that he could not reduce an enemy like Sivagy who could pass only for a petty chief and a common rebel and who desolated all his

territories. But it was known that Sivagy, a man of spirit and cunning achieved more by artifice than by open violence, that he had an understanding with the generals of the Mogol with whom he shared his spoils ; this was what sustained him. The Mogol none-the-less spared nothing for getting rid of him, Sivagy discovered a conspiracy by his brother-in-law against him which was said to have its source from the Mogol. The traitor was arrested and had his eyes put out.

The officers of Sivagy pressed the Naique of Arelour so much that Chircam and his eldest son were at last forced to leave and to take shelter with the Naique of the Maravas.⁴³ He wrote to me at (the time of) his departure, sent back our men who were near him, assured me that he would never forget the obligations he owed us, that the company would lose nothing of what was due from him and that he would send us the first (instalment of) money that might come to him. I learnt on the return of our people the reason why he did not get some employment at Maduré, it was because when the Naique returned at Trichinapely where Chircam was, the chief did not meet him, that he had not even informed himself of his news, and that

⁴³ The Nayak of the Maravas was the Setupati of Ramnad and the Marava country, in those days, extended over the modern zemindaris of Ramnad and Shivaganga though the Maravas had penetrated further into the Tinnevely district. (See Irvine, *Manucci's Storia do Mogor*, Vol. IV. p. 442.) The Maravas are of Dravidian extraction and have been little affected by Brahmanical influence. They claim descent from Guha, Rama's boatman. The Maravans are described as follows:—"Of strong limbs and hardy frames, and fierce looking as tigers, wearing long and curled locks of hair, the blood-thirsty Maravans, armed with the bow bound with leather, ever ready to injure others, shoot their arrows at poor and defenceless travellers, from whom they can steal nothing, only to feast their eyes on the quivering limbs of their victims." "To this class belonged most of the Poligars, or feudal chieftains, who disputed with the English the possession of Tinnevely during the last, and first years of the 19th century. As feudal chiefs and heads of a numerous class of the population, and one whose characteristics were eminently adapted for the roll of followers of a turbulent chieftain, bold, active, enterprising, cunning and capricious, this class constituted themselves, or were constituted by the peaceful cultivators, their protectors in time of bloodshed and rapine, when no central authority, capable of keeping the peace, existed." "Though the Maravans", Mr. Francis writes, "are usually cultivators, they are some of them the most expert cattle lifters in the Presidency." (Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of S. India*, Vol. V, pp. 22-23.)

he did not ask for his audience before two or three days after his arrival. This was a little too much of arrogance (considering) the condition in which he was.

There were some movements among the Hindu princes that seemed bound to rekindle the war among them. These petty kings could not suffer one another.

A party of the Redis⁴⁴—these are people who make the most of their lands, withdrew to the woods because Sivagy's officers did not observe the conditions of their treaties with them. There was a general disorder in the province and (this was) always (caused by) the Bramens. They also wanted to cause us some damage at the commencement of the month of September on the pretext of getting measured (surveyed) a garden that we had outside the lodge, the residences of our married Frenchmen who were in the colony and the houses of the people of the country who were in the company's service and to enforce a tax upon (us). I strongly opposed it.

We received some letters from Golconde at the commencement of the same month. The ambassador of the Mogol pressed the king hard for furnishing him with the sum he had demanded, the prince, however, delayed, possibly, for making (the ambassador) understand that his funds were exhausted. He gave orders to melt down all the gold and silver vessels of the preceding king, to coin money with them. He even caused old medals to be brought out of the treasury to be melt in the same manner,

⁴⁴ "The Reddis are the largest caste in Madras Presidency, numbering more than two millions, and are the great caste of cultivators, farmers and squireens in the Telugu country. In the Gazetteer of Anantapur they are described as being the great land-holding body in the Telugu districts, who are held in much respect as substantial, steady-going yeomen, and next to the Brahmans are the leaders of Hindu Society. In the Salem Manual it is stated that the 'the Reddis are provident. They spend their money on the land, but are not parsimonious. They are always well dressed, if they can afford it. The gold ornaments worn by the women or the men are of the finest kind of gold. Their houses are always neat and well built, and the Reddis give the idea of good substantial ryots. They live chiefly on *rāgi* (grain: *Eleusine Coracana*), and are a fine, powerful race.' Of proverbs relating to the hereditary occupation of the Reddis, the following may be quoted. 'Only a Reddi can cultivate the land, even though he has to drink for every clod turned over.' Those are Reddis who get their living by cultivating the earth.'" (Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. III, pp. 222-223.)

this went on slowly. Delilcam, one of the generals of the Mogol, who was with an army on the frontiers of this state, being informed of this delay, caused the king of Golconde to be told that if he did not expedite more he (the general) would go himself to oblige him to make more diligence.

That was rude to a sovereign. However, the poor prince who would be able to respond vigorously if he had had the resolution, a spirit of ruling and to employ his forces, yet caused some precious stones to be sold for a considerable sum in order to please the Mogol.

After a vigorous defence on the part of the garrison, the Governor was at last compelled by a kind of contagious disease, which had broken out in the place and which carried away everyday eight to ten persons, to surrender the fortress of Velour which was besieged since the arrival of Sivagy in the province. The capitulation made, he got out with one hundred infantry and thirty horsemen. This fortress is important, the troops of Sivagy had pushed their conquest further in other provinces in such a way that we were assured that there was only a distance of about thirty leagues by road between his estates on the coast of India and his conquests in these parts.

SEPTEMBER

[293v°]

Goupalpendit, Soubedar or Intendant of Tequenepatan and Porto Novo, who was then at the former place, wrote to me and requested me to give him my opinion about the movements of the Dutch and promised to inform us of what he might learn, he asked of us a reciprocal correspondence. I replied to his letter on the 11th, I gave him the same assurance.* * *

On the 12th the Dutch continued to embark their merchandise and their private effects, including their moveables. Goupalpendit wrote me that he had learnt from good quarters that the Dutch intended (to harm) us, that after having embarked all that they had in their factory they would come to make a descent at Pondichery to capture us.

[294v°]

I caused (a letter) to be written to Gingy to the Governor-General about the condition in which we were, the movements

of the Dutch and that they might have the fortress of Tequenepatan as well as other places in view.

I got information on the 19th that one of the two vessels that were before Tequenepatan had set sail at night, the women and children of the factory were embarked on it. The Dutch proclaimed loudly that they would totally withdraw, the officers of Sivagy hastened to induce them to stay. They urged for their pretext that much damage had been done to them and they could not remain any longer. It has been reported to us that during the conversation that the chief of the factory had had with the *avaladar* of the place the former wanted to buy the fortress of Tequenepatan, (and demanded) that the Dutch should be the only European merchants at Porto Novo and that Pondichery should be left to them. That officer replied that it exceeded his power and that it was necessary that he should write to the Governor-General. I did not give much credence to this report.

* * *

OCTOBER

[296r°]

We received three letters from Chircam during this month. We learnt thereby that he was with the Naique of the Maravas against whom Ecugy had declared war, partly because he had given shelter to this chief. He, however, did not want to accept any employment, nor suffer his son to do so, he allowed only some of his relatives (to enter into the Naique's service). Nonetheless, he found himself in some encounters against the enemies of the Naique who gave him a pension. Chircam also despatched to us some express to know the condition in which we were, a rumour having spread in these parts that the Dutch had taken Pondichery and that we were in their hands. He, however, added that in case we had withdrawn to the forests and had no safe place of retreat, he offered one with the Naique of Arelour where we should be welcomed and where he would come to join me. I thanked him for his offers and informed him of the condition in which we were.

The Soubedar Goupalpendit (made his people) work in the fortification of Tequenepatan, the garrison was always numerous. [296v°] We received some letters from Surate. Sivagy still

aggrandised himself by the places he captured in the territories of Visiapour. He had tried to surprise one night More de Chaoul, this is the name given to a fortress on the other bank of the river that runs along that place and which fortifies it. The people of this chief were repulsed by the Portuguese garrison who were there and who were masters of the fort as well as the town.

NOVEMBER

For sometimes past our Bramen has been near Ragarnatpendit, Governor-General of the province, for watching that nothing is done against us. In an audience that he had, (with Ragarnatpendit) that officer strongly complained that we made no commerce at Pondichery, that we brought no profit to the state, that we were even the cause of the Dutch wanting to leave Tequenepatan where they made a considerable trade, that he could not suffer us to continue like that any longer, but he would, however, wait for a year or two more, on condition that we lent him ten thousand pagodes of which he had need for the maintenance of his troops, that he would give us for the payment (of the debt) (power) to make collections in many *aldées*⁴⁵ (villages) in the neighbourhood of Pondichery. Our Bramen after hearing his proposals replied to him that if it was intended to put us entirely out of Pondichery we would not hesitate to withdraw by the first ship that came to us, but after that we should also be in a position to make some return to those who had insulted us, that the intentions of Sivagy were not other than (that indicated by) the manner in which he treated us, that we awaited the news of peace in Europe and some ships, that then we would make all the commerce that the Dutch did and more, that with regard to ten thousand pagodes that we had been asked to lend, we had no money. On this reply from our Bramen Ragarnatpendit assumed a sweeter tone. He then charged him to write me about the conversation that they had had together. It was the Dutch who set this Governor-General to treat us in this manner. They threatened to leave, though it is well-known that they would not do so in the end. It is true that the Governor-General lacked money for paying the troops, but that proceeded from two

⁴⁵ Portuguese *aldeia*, a village.

causes, the first (was) that the Bramens, from the highest officer to the lowest, robbed with impunity ; the second reason (was) the ill treatment accorded to the people which drove many to leave and pass on to the territories of the neighbouring princes, so that the province did not yield two-thirds of its ordinary revenue. It must, however, be admitted that the Bramens were more careful in making the lands profitable than those under the government of the Mahomettans had appeared (to us) to be. A number of places [297r[^]] around Pondichery, covered with brambles and brushwood only, of which nobody thought (anything), was reclaimed and these have produced well since, but the best part of these improvements went to the profit of the Bramens. The kingdom of Visiapour drew little by little to its end, the great nobles were simultaneously in hostility and each was cantoned within his own jurisdiction (government). This was due to a policy of Sivagy who fomented this division, fearing that if they were united together they would conjointly wage war against him. This chief obtained readily great succours at the hand of the King of Golconde who was very glad that this state (Visiapour) was destroyed.

* * *

Monsieur Baron, the Director, sent some letters of Sivagy in our favour for the Governor-General, we were reliably informed that when the Dutch went to see Sivagy, while he was in this province, that chief after having entertained them for a long time with the hope of expediting a *firman* for them, left them a letter, while leaving the army, for the governor of the province which (he) told them was an order for promptly discharging them but it was known afterwards, that he charged that officer by that (letter) to exact from them as much as he could and even to detain them there. The knowledge that we had of this (fact) led us to open the letter that was sent to us, in which he (the Governor-General) was simply directed to treat us (as we had been) in the same manner as under the government of Chircam. We then sent it to the Governor-General. It had not much effect, it was not always a good policy in these quarters, where self-interest governs everybody, to secure letters of recommendation from the prince to his officers. They think, on account of these letters, that complaint has been made against

their conduct and as they do not want in arguments and pretexts for getting it approved they make those who have written feel the consequences, the more so, the further the sovereigns are from them, and they become thereby like absolute masters of their governments.

The rumour also spread at Golconde that the Dutch had carried us away from Pondichery.* * *

We had two or three expresses from Chircam during this month to inform him of our news. He always communicated to us his hopes of the coming of troops from Visiapour but of which there was little sign. Meanwhile, as it was absolutely necessary to learn [297v°] the condition of that chief's affairs and still more to attempt to get the money, the council resolved to send to him Sieur Germain who was given necessary instructions for his guidance.

DECEMBER

Sieur Germain started on the first of December with the Bramen Anemonte. They made this journey of more than 60 leagues on foot during the most difficult season of the year, one dared not give them conveyances, nor men for their suite, with the object of concealing (the fact) that they went to Chircam. That would have been suspected not only by Sivagy's officers but still more by the petty Hindu princes through whose estates they had to pass. Sieur Germain was in the garb of an adventurer who went in search of his party.

* * *

There was a strong rumour in the country that the troops of Visiapour were near. The movements of the Bramens contributed to confirm it. They sent their best belongings to the neighbouring states. The Governor-General of the province even set on march a big detachment of cavalry to take possession of the routes (passes) by which the Mores could enter into the country. However, we received at the same time some letters from Golconde in which it was mentioned that division continued among the great nobles of Visiapour and famine in the kingdom, the people not having the liberty of cultivating the lands on account of the parties that scoured the country. We learnt, moreover, from the letters that the king had left for Masuli-

patan. Some people (thought) that there was some mystery about this journey, that this prince was apprehensive of being attacked by the Mogol, under the pretext of visiting his estates he caused what he had of valuables to be transported among his ordinary baggage to be deposited in the fortress of Conepely, 15 to 20 leagues distant from Masulipatan. [298r°] This is an extremely strong place, with a circuit of four to five leagues, enclosed by some mountains and open only by some avenues which are well fortified. It is said that there was collected inside what (could) feed five to six thousand persons with all the necessaries of life. It was believed that if the king of Golconde found himself pressed, he would retire there, it has been learnt, however, by the sequel that these suppositions were not true.

We learnt another news by the same letters, that the Mogol had caused the ablest Casis⁴⁶ in his estate to assemble—these are men of letters among the Mahomettans—of whom he had asked their opinion about the claims he had upon the kingdom of Golconde. Here is the foundation: Mirzomla (l'emir somla), who had previously been the generalissimo of the armies of Golconde and who had conquered that portion of the Carnate which is dependent upon this kingdom, having been forced by the jealous people (there were) in the court to leave the service, threw himself in the party of the Mogol during the reign of Sha-Jehan. This chief persuaded Oranzeb, who I believe was the Governor of the Deccan, to besiege the fortress of Golconde, the capture of which was easy and which would lead to the conquest of the kingdom. Oranzeb, who concealed his ambition under the mask of feigned devotion of a faquier, accepted the proposal, the troops marched, seige was laid to the fortress and (it) was reduced to the last extreme. It is said that Mirzomla repented after having reduced the king of Golconde to this extremity, that he persuaded Oranzeb to assure himself of the kingdom in another way by allying himself with this prince by the marriage of Sultan Mamoud, his eldest son, with the eldest of the king's daughters, that in consequence of this marriage the kingdom would come to Oranzeb after the death of this sovereign. The proposal was made and accepted, and the marriage

⁴⁶ Arabic *Kādi*, a judge.

was consummated. Oranzeb retired, but after having carried away the riches of the city of Baganagar⁴⁷ which was pillaged and which was then extra-ordinarily wealthy, besides, the surprise of Oranzeb's march gave no time for withdrawing what was there in the king's palace. This history is reported with all the circumstances in the accounts of the travellers of this century. There were two more daughters of the king of Golconde, the second was married to a chief who is called Grand Mirza and the third to the prince who has succeeded the deceased king and who, we are assured, is descended from the race of the ancient kings, here is then the foundation of the pretensions of Oranzeb: the Casis peremptorily gave judgment in his favour, it is, however, not believed that he was so scrupulous as to assemble the casuists of his state to support his pretensions to a kingdom which was well off and yielded more than 40 millions of pounds every year.

* * *

JANUARY, 1679

[298v°]

I received some letters about the arrival of Sieur Germain near Chircam by whom he had been very well received. This chief, as well as his eldest son, had served the Naique of the Maravas well in an encounter against Ecugy's troops; this chief pressed him to raise some cavalry with a view to push his affairs further. He had (a) standing (body of) nearly 50,000 infantry ready, of this number nearly 30,000 (were) musketeers, but all these troops were of no use except in the woods, in the defiles and in other places where the cavalry has not the freedom of spreading itself as in a plain country; one thousand horse would have beaten them.

* * *

[299r°]

Chircam still based his hopes upon the coming of troops from Visiapour but there was little sign of them, meanwhile he

⁴⁷ Bhaganagar, capital of Golkonda, so called after a Brahman lady, who once had for her guest the founder of the city. (Sen, *Siva Chhatrapati*, p. 72. *infra*.)

kept intelligence with the neighbouring princes with this view. He made Sieur Germain stay near him in expectation of money.

* * *

We had information from Masulipatan that the king of Golconde had been there and had gone thence to the territories of Girgelin which are to the north, that during his sojourn at Masulipatan he was embarked on one of the two Dutch ships that had arrived there from Batavia, that this ship had sailed a league or two in the open sea and then returned to anchor, that this prince had started from there on the 15th January to return to Golconde on the information that he had received that Delilcam, one of the generals of the Mogol, was near the frontiers with a corps of cavalry.

* * *

FEBRUARY

The officers of Sivagy had information that his eldest son Sammagy⁴⁸ had gone to the Mogol side on account of some grievances he had against his father. We received some letters from Sieur Germain. He sent us two bills to the value of 3,000 *écus* upon some persons who owed (that sum) to Chircam, but who were not better off than he, and nothing could be obtained from them. There were a few more battles with Ecugy, but of little importance, in which the Maravas had some success under the leadership of this chief. The troops of Visiapour were always talked of, but there was little sign of them. Sieur Germain had saluted the Naique of the Maravas by whom he was well received.

* * *

MARCH

We had some difficulties during this month with the Soubedar or Intendant of these parts who still wanted to impose a tax upon the people who were in the service of the company. He came to Pondichery where he remained four days. We represented to him all that we believed to be useful to us, he was shown the *firmans* of Sivagy which he rejected with scorn,

⁴⁸ This happened in December, 1678.

at last he was told that if he drove us to extremes we should defend ourselves. He left in anger threatening that he would make us leave Pondichery. We made our Bramen follow him but he could not get any reason out of him. At last we were advised to let his passion pass, our Bramen returned. The *avaladar* of this place confided to us that this Soubedar had told him that they always apprehended the coming of troops from Visiapour where Chircam was sure to go and as there was a bond of amity between that chief and us we might render some service to him, and it was important for the welfare of Sivagy's affairs to drive us from Pondichery. The *avaladar* represented to him that this should not be apprehended of us, that he knew us, that our general who was at Surate kept considerable correspondence with Sivagy, and that we could not undertake anything without his orders. The Soubedar did not come back except after a long time.

During this month we also received some letters from Sieur Germain. The Naique of the Maravas have conferred considerable salaries on Chircam and his son, but the money did not come. They were both of them reduced to the mean condition of not having wherewithal to subsist on. There were some more encounters between the troops of this Naique and those of Ecugy. The Maravas had been repulsed in the absence of Chircam, since his return to the army he had made the enemies retreat, but all these had not much effect. The army of the Naique was before a miserable place called Couvourcotta, which they could have carried in a trice but none-the-less attacked it only from a great distance. Chircam still based his hopes on the coming of troops from Visiapour but there was no sign of them. Sieur Germain further informed us that there was nothing to expect from this chief in the circumstances in which he was for the present, this led me to write him to come back.

* * *

APRIL

[300r°]

Sieur Germain returned from his journey to Chircam at the commencement of April. He brought some letters of credit for the persons on whom Chircam had sent bills. He also brought

a letter for receiving a sum of 12,000 Roupies in Bengalle from a man who owed it to Chircam, nothing, however, was obtained from all these debts. Chircam had with him at the place of the Maravas 425 cavaliers, if he had money he might have drawn to his side all the cavalry of Ecugy but the Naique would not spend voluntarily. The troops were still before Couvourcotta which was of no account and which should have been taken by a *coup de main*. The envoys of Ecugy and of the Naique had assembled for making peace which was concluded several days after the departure of Sieur Germain, on condition that the fortress should be left alone, provided that things should remain as before. This news we learnt from some letters of Chircam. This chief added that the Naique had undertaken to give him some lands that should bring him twelve to fifteen thousand *écus* of revenue every year, and then he would share with us what would come to him. Sieur Germain did not consider the Naique so liberal and the sequel showed that he had reason (to think so). There is a journal of what he noticed during his journey. I shall possibly insert what is most curious in that at the end of this narrative.

We learnt from some letters from Golconde that the troubles at Visiapour [300v°] were settled among the nobles of that kingdom, that (this news) caused anxiety to the officers of Sivagy who were in these parts, the more so as they have been assured that Sivagy's eldest son who had gone over to the Mogol was placed at the head of an army in the country of his father and had already taken some places.

The Soubedar or Intendant Vitulospendit⁴⁹ persecuted us more during the whole of this month. His intention was to force us to make him a present of a horse of Achem which was in the lodge and belonged to Sieur Deltor. We did not like to accustom those people to engaging ourselves to give whatever

⁴⁹ Vithal Pildev Atre Garadkar (*Shahanav Kalmi Bakhar*, p. 37). Malhar Ramrao Chitnis calls him Viththal Pildev Garudkar (Sane's edition of *Chitnis Bakhar*, p. 285). He is frequently mentioned in *Le Stat General des Presents et Depences faites a Pondichery depuis le 18 8bre 1673 jusque au 31e aoust 1693* (Archives Coloniales, Correspondance Générale. Inde 2e Série, Vol. II) as Vitulospeli pendit. From the same statement it appears that Viththal Pildev held the office of Governor of Jinji till 1686 when he was replaced by one Ananda Rao, another Brahman officer.

might please them. This officer, enraged and rendered obstinate by the resistance we made, threatened to turn us out of Prondichery. He even gave orders to the people of the woods near which we were, to assemble and come to blockade us in our lodge. The Governor-General was at a distance of twelve to fifteen days' journey from Gingy. We wrote to him about the conduct of the Soubedar. He gave us a favourable reply, he even sent us a letter for this officer, but he did not make much account of it, possibly there was an understanding between them. I then sent our Bramen to see if there was any means of appeasing this man, but on condition that he would not get the horse.

FEBRUARY, 1680

[307r°] The rumour continued that some troops of Visiapour were on their march for coming to these parts but with little appearance (of its truth). Sivagy continued to ravage the Decan. Some of his troops had pressed forward within eight to ten leagues of Surate, the Mogol with all his forces could not check their progress.

APRIL, 1680

[308r°] The rumour was strong in the province that the troops of the Mogol, joined with those of Visiapour, were on their march to come to these parts, though there is no sign (of it), the Bramen officers sent their valuable belongings away, not believing them secure in the province.

MAY, 1680

[308v°] Sieur Clement, chief of the factory of the company at Rajapour, informed me by a letter, that he wrote me on the 29th April, of the decease of Sivagy Raja (who) died twelve days previously. The deceased could very well take a high place among the great men of India though the conquests he made during his lifetime have been accomplished rather by his intrigues and cunning than by open force.

He was one of the great enemies of the Mogol whose country and even some considerable towns he had ruined.

**DESCRIPTION OF SURATTE
AND THE
LIVES OF THE GREAT MOGOLS**

**By
Francois Valentine**

DESCRIPTION OF SURATTE AND THE LIVES OF THE GREAT MOGOLS

[*Translation of an extract from François Valentyn's Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien, Vol. I, pp. 264-67. Beschryving van Suratte en de Levens der Groote Mogols.*]

In the year 1663 (or, as others state 1661), Aurangzeb had trouble with one of his court named Sivaji, a little man (in the language of his country called a man like a rat), but great in deeds. Jemeah¹ was the birth place of this Sivaji and it was from ancient times the seat of the kings of Deccan, under whom his father was Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, which Aurangzeb handed over to him when he conquered the kingdom. This Sivaji, the most distinguished and powerful of the petty Hill Rulers, was descended from the old line of the Rajas and from the stock of the Bonceloes,² a very warlike and brave race. His grandfather was held in great esteem under Nizam Shah, his name being Raja Vangoeji, and his father's was Raja Shahji; he was Commander-in-Chief of the army under the same king.

We have already seen in the account of the affairs of the Kings of Visiapour that there were three brothers and that the other two were called Sambhoji and Ikoeji.

On the fall of the King Nizam Shah, the father of Sivaji and his other sons entered the service of the King of Visiapour, under whom they held very important offices. Sivaji however always caused trouble, wherefore the King of Visiapour attacked him with an army under Abdul Khan, whom, however, Sivaji very cunningly deceived and treacherously murdered, at the same time getting possession of the strong city Pangola.³ Shivaji's office carried with it the duty of holding a silver stick and riding in advance of the prince when he went out in order to clear the way. But having fallen into disfavour and being banished by Aurangzeb, he took to highway robbery. Indeed, having

¹ Junnar, sometimes spelt "Juneah" by seventeenth century scribes.

² The Bhonslas, to which family also belonged the Sawants of Wari and the Ghorpades of Mudhol.

³ Panhala about 12 miles north-west of Kolhapur town.

collected a large following of rascals, he became so strong and bold that he openly took the field against Aurangzeb and did him much injury in various places by his incursions.

This man is indicated by the letters A A A in the illustration [on page 248] clad in a gold embroidered mantle and with a turban on his head.

In January of the year 1664 he arrived in the important trading city of Ahmadabad with a flying force of from ten to twelve thousand men, which inspired such consternation in Surat and above all, in the heart of the cowardly governor of the district that he, who had been appointed to protect the traders there, sought help in vain from the Dutch and English. These, however, had enough to do to protect themselves, for their whole force consisted of only 30 to 40 men of each nation. In consequence they could give but little assistance ; wherefore on the 15th of the same month, they each enlisted 70-80 Muhammadans.

The following day news came to Surat that Sivaji had arrived with his army at the village of Utena, scarcely a mile and a half from the town. Thereupon the governor sent an officer to entreat him not to approach nearer, as it caused great consternation and would be very displeasing to the Prince, who had, so he said, sent him elsewhere, to which message Sivaji attached little importance, quietly taking the envoy prisoner, the better to seize his opportunity in the attack on the town, and carrying him with himself thither. The same fate also befell two Dutch officers sent out to get information, but they were released towards evening and arriving, without arms, among their own people, confirmed the report that the freebooter with his force was indeed Sivaji.

Towards noon an extensive fire broke out in the town, which Sivaji's men gradually entered, and immediately made their way to the custom house for plunder.

The terrified governor at once took refuge in the citadel with all the Mughal officers, with the help of whom he might have kept out the bandit for a long time. The latter, finding no resistance, gave himself up to plunder and burning until far into the night, having even the audacity to approach the citadel. It is true that the governor's men continued to fire all night long, but more damage was done to the town than the enemy.

A pitiful weeping of women and children for the loss of their husbands and fathers, houses and goods, was heard throughout this period and was enhanced by reason of the spread of the conflagration. No one knew where to turn to slake his thirst, even though the fire burnt itself out in the end during the night, and some peace ensued. On the 17th, however, the conflagration was seen to break out in new places and more fiercely than before.

Sivaji sent one Nicolas Kolastra, a Greek merchant of Surat, to the Dutch and English Chiefs with the information that Shah Shuja, his ally and friend who accompanied him, had presented the town of Surat to him as a gift, and that he had therefore decided to call upon the Europeans in a friendly manner for a considerable sum of money to pay his men ; otherwise he would give up everything in the town to fire and sword.

Although it was well known that this pretence was a lie and that Shah Shuja had long been dead, it was necessary to speak the invader fair and put him off by asserting that merchants have no cash and it was therefore impossible for them to help him.

Meanwhile the burning and blazing, the weeping, wailing and lamenting of the unhappy people abandoned in the town were terrible to see and hear. Also, in spite of the already great danger caused by the conflagration, Sivaji's people continued to augment it with fresh fuel.

Everything of beauty existing in Surat was that day reduced to ashes and many considerable merchants lost all that the enemy had not plundered through this terrible fire, narrowly escaping with their lives. Two or three Banian merchants lost several millions and the total loss was estimated at 30 millions.

On the 18th January, having worked his will, Sivaji withdrew at noon with his men from the town, taking an incredible amount of booty. He and his followers appropriated only the most valuable spoils and distributed the less valuable things, which could only hamper their retreat, among the poor, whereby many acquired much more than they had lost through fire and pillage.

On withdrawing, Sivaji encamped half a mile from the town so as to make it appear that he intended to remain there for a time, but he departed at the first gleam of daylight, delighted

to have plucked such a fine feather from Aurangzeb's tail.

The envoy of the emperor of Abyssinia, Khwaja Murad by name, an Armenian, who was staying in Surat till further orders, lost all the presents intended for the Emperor through fear for his life or at least his liberty, because Sivaji demanded them from him or threatened otherwise to carry him off a prisoner ; all which loss was attributed to the conduct of the timorous and inexperienced governor of Surat.

Aurangzeb, who had his hands already over full of more important things and saw no chance of suppressing by force this freebooter, who now possessed an army of 100,000 (since many more men had joined him), decided, by means of one his greatest nobles, to offer a pardon on his word as Emperor to Sivaji for all his misdeeds, and in addition the third place among the Princes of the State, and moreover that his son should be promoted to the command of 10,000 horsemen.

Sivaji allowed himself to be persuaded by all these offers. He therefore went to Delhi with his son and some followers and proceeded himself with a few servants to the Court of Aurangzeb. But he charged his son to remain with the army outside the city and there to await his further orders or see what treatment would be meted out to him.

He was very well received at court by the nobles, splendidly entertained and conducted to a princely palace which was to serve as his abode, but seeing that, at his audience with Aurangzeb, the fourth, and not the promised third, place among the Omrahs was given him, he was so angry that he openly upbraided the prince, asking if this was in accord with the princely word to which he had trusted. He openly said that he refused to sit in the place below a traitor and would therefore depart, but was restrained by some of the nobles and appeased with an undertaking that the promise should be fulfilled.

The reason why Sivaji called the noble who sat in the third place a traitor was as follows. Aurangzeb had sent this man with an army against him some years before, and he had on that occasion turned traitor to the Mughal, writing a letter to Sivaji and suggesting, since they were both Rajputs and fellow-believers, that they should not remain at variance and that he would leave Sivaji in peace if he on his part would let him alone ; all of which Sivaji had undertaken to do.

Indeed, so far from having attacked Sivaji, as Aurangzeb's orders had enjoined, this noble had occasionally feasted with him as a friend. Subsequently the two would resume the strife, matters were always so managed on both sides that scarcely any troops were present and nothing was accomplished.

All this was now revealed by Sivaji to the assembled Omrahs, and in order still more to expose the baseness of this unworthy noble who had been placed above him, he handed over his traitorous letters to Aurangzeb, again asking, with some indignation, if he must sit below such a man, and if such action was in accord with the Royal word.

Aurangzeb, unaccustomed to hearing such defiant speech from his Omrahs and consequently disinclined to brook it from a rebellious freebooter, had him forthwith taken into custody, and although four of his attendants were left to him, he was nevertheless so treated that he clearly realised that he was indeed a prisoner.

He immediately gave his son notice of his condition demanded of him certain necessities and charged him to depart thence without delay, breaking camp with his army and finding means to escape.

To the nobles of the Court who went daily to visit him and whom he received in a friendly manner, Sivaji feigned ignorance of his position and informed them that he hoped shortly, through their influence, to be reinstated in the favour of the Emperor and to obtain the promised post.

Meanwhile his servants went every day to the market to purchase fruit, etc. for him. This, according to the custom of the country, they carried in large long baskets, such as were used by the Omrahs to interchange presents, either with or without covers. These baskets were, however, generally examined by the guard.

When this state of things had gone on for two or three months, the men on guard, having become accustomed to it, did not always make a close examination of the contents of the baskets. Consequently, on a certain day, of which he had previously informed his son, Sivaji, seizing his opportunity, after feigning illness and keeping his bed with a supposed fever for several days, had himself carried out in a basket.

Now, in addition to Shivaji's four attendants, Aurangzeb

had placed with him a Muhammadan in whom he had great confidence, ostensibly as a companion for Sivaji, but really as a spy on his movements. This man was an obstacle to Shivaji's plan of escape, but having noticed that he was an inveterate *bhang*¹ smoker and wine-drinker, Sivaji saw that, on the day appointed for his departure, the Muhammadan was so well provided with intoxicants that he became exceedingly drunk. He was then arrayed in Sivaji's robe and thus attired, was laid in Sivaji's bed. Wherefore, without the guard having the least suspicion, since they had seen him, as they believed, reclining on his bed with servants fanning him, Sivaji was carried out in a basket to a place 15 miles beyond Delhi, where his son awaited him with some thousand men.

Not long after his flight an Omrah arrived with a physician to visit Sivaji, but being informed that he slept, they went away again.

His servants judging that he was now sufficiently far off, thought it time to look to their own safety, and as they were free to come in and out, crept away one after the other, leaving the drunken Muhammadan lying alone in the chamber and shutting the door after them. At length he awoke, found that he was wearing Sivaji's robe and was astonished to see himself in his bed, although neither Sivaji nor his servants were visible. Too late he realised that Sivaji had obtained his freedom by making him intoxicated, for though at first he looked upon it as a joke, he learned the truth on enquiring from the guard for Sivaji and his followers. The Muhammadan therefore lost no time in effacing himself, for had he remained, he would certainly have lost his life.

The gate through which the fugitive had been carried was finally discovered and it was learned that he had found horses there ready for him, that he had ridden the nearest way to his camp and could not possibly be overtaken.

At last Aurangzeb also learnt with wonder how artfully the escape had been arranged. He sent some light troops in pursuit, but the bird had flown and Sivaji was so adequately covered by his son's troops that Aurangzeb's people dared not

¹ "The dried leaves and small stalks of hemp (i.e., *Cannabis Indica*), used to cause intoxication, either by smoking, or when eaten mixed up into a sweetmeat." (*Hobson Jobson*, p. 59.)

pursue him further.

So recourse was once more had to cunning and an attempt was again made to entice Sivaji to the Court by an assurance that, if he had had patience for a few days, the third place among the Omrahs would have been given to him as promised, because the other Omrah had been promoted to a Governorship elsewhere and the place was therefore open. He was urged, therefore, to return and occupy that place. But the fox was too old to allow himself to be deceived a second time and Sivaji replied that he could not conceive how Aurangzeb was so foolish as to believe that he would give himself into his hands again; that he had been deceived by him once but that he was now determined to find means of avenging such faithlessness and hoped that the opportunity would soon occur. Shortly after he took Wingurla from Aurangzeb and caused him much trouble for many years subsequently, and Aurangzeb, powerful as he was, could find no means to withstand him.

This Sivaji accomplished great things afterwards in the year 1676 at Golconda, in Surat and elsewhere, but these we pass over as being not to our purpose here. He died in 1680 on the 1st June, being succeeded by his son Sambhoji, who caused all his father's loyal friends to be burnt at his funeral in order to provide him with their company.

EXTRACTS FROM DUTCH RECORDS

(INDIA OFFICE TRANSCRIPTION)

FIRST SACK OF SURAT

MSS. DUTCH RECORDS, VOL. 27, No. DCCXI

[Letter from the Governor-General and Council of India to the Director of the Dutch East India Company, Dated August 4th, 1664, from Batavia.]

On May 15 the fleete *Leerdam* returned from Surat with a cargo of diverse merchandises to the value of f242,359'11'9 (£20,196'2) and we are daily expecting the "fleete *Amstelland*" with the remainder of the goods.

The *Leerdam* brought us letters from the Director dated March 15th mentioned a fearful catastrophe which has befallen the town. On January 15th the town was suddenly invaded by the outlaw Sivasi, pillaged and for the greater part destroyed by fire. The company's property had not suffered in any way. However as great many creditors of the company have been carried off by the invaders it is doubtful whether they will ever be able to pay their debts, but the loss is far below f20,000 (£1,700) at which it was calculated. King Orangceph has ordered the town of Surat to be surrounded by a stone wall and has granted a years exemption of tolls and duties to the merchants. The company and the English being also included. This exemption was to begin from March 16th, 1663, and we calculate that the company will thus gain a sum of f50,000 (£4,200) so that this catastrophe has brought us profit. Governor Arayet¹ Chan had been ordered to appear before the king to answer for his want of vigilance. Another Governor, named Geadishan,^{1a} had taken his place.

¹ Inayet Khan was governor of Surat from 1658-1664. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 91.)

^{1a} Ghias-ud-din Khan.

MSS. DUTCH RECORDS VOL. 27, No. DCCXIX

[*Extract from the day book at Surat referring to the invasion of Sivagie and his presence there from January 15th to January 21st 1664.*]

January 15th. On Tuesday morning while engaged in the unloading of the *Haarlem*, we heard that the Governor Anaet Chan had received tidings from Gandivie,² a place about 15 cos from here, that last night a great general pretending to be sent by the king from Amadabath had presented himself there with an army of about 10,000 men and that he was thought to be the redoubtable Sivagie. As we are accustomed to all sorts of distressing rumours which generally prove false, we did not attach much importance to the report but unfortunately we soon learned that to be true. Numerous fugitives rushed into the town. The Director was informed that the English President Mr. George Oxenden had requested permission from the Governor to remove to Sualy³ and that the Governor had angrily refused it, saying that if the English and Dutch were to leave the town nobody would feel safe and the rush would become general. All this increased our alarm, for the *Leerdam* had been entirely cleared and the company's stores were full of valuable goods. Director Van Adrichen at once sent to the docks in order to reship the goods on board the *Haarlem* and ordered two cannons to be brought on shore and applied to the Governor for permission to place his wife and children in safety on board one of the company's vessels. The Governor was not at home being engaged in taking all possible measures to prevent the invader's progress. Later on the Director received the same answer as the English President, the Governor begging him to lend him all the assistance he could in this fearful predicament. However as the danger was becoming more imminent, it was decided to engage about 6 Moorish soldiers for the protection of the factory. We were fortunate to secure them although we had to spend a

² About 28 miles from Surat.

³ "Suwāli, the once familiar name of the roadstead north of the mouth of the Tapti, where ships for Surat usually anchored, and discharged or took in cargo." (*Hobson Jobson*, p. 883). Suwāli is about 12 miles west of Surat.

large sum of money. In all, we had now about 80 men all provided with arms. A letter was at once despatched to President Coenredt Roermondts at Sualy with the request to send 15 of the most able sailors from the *Leerdam* with muskets and ammunition. Eight European free men also offered their services, notwithstanding the defence of the Governor the Director decided towards the evening to send his family on board the *Muccaser* giving order to the Captain to keep his vessel anchored in the middle of the river and carefully watch the signals from the factory and in the event of danger at once sail for Sualy. Having terminated these arrangements the Director divided his party into three divisions and despatched information to the company's agents at Amadabath of the state of affairs.

Wednesday 16th. Nothing of any importance happened during the night. The mate of the *Leerdam* came in early morning to advise of the arrival of the 15 sailors. Soon after we heard that Sivagy was coming gradually nearer. He was now at Oudena about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Surat. It was rumoured that Governor Ajete Chan had sent one of his chiefs to Sivagy to request him not to disturb the peace of the country. This message so irritated the rebel chief that he had kept the messenger a prisoner. He had also detained two of the Director's servants who had been sent to investigate the true position of affairs but they were released in the evening and returned to the factory. They reported that it really was Sivagy for one of them had once seen him at Rajapore. About 10 O'clock the mate brought the sailors within the town with the two metal guns. The Director without waiting for the Governor's permission ordered some goods, which had arrived from Brotche to be brought in the factory. He also sent messengers to the weavers and dyers with orders to bring the goods in hand at once to the factory which they did in the greatest haste and confusion fully occupied with these several arrangements, the English President at the head of some 200 men, marched through the town, declaring that he meant to withstand Sivagy with this handful of men. He called upon the Director to know his intentions. The Director replied that he did not intend to make any demonstration unless he was first attacked ; if so that he was prepared to defend the lives and property of the company. About midday Sivagy had reached the gates of the town and the Director

signalled to the Captain of the *Maccaser* to proceed to Sualy. Scarcely had these preparations been taken and the outer gate closed when we saw great flames rising from the centre of the town. The troops of Sivagy whose progress no one opposed then marched towards the king's custom house which they plundered. The Governor who has a troop of 1,000 horse never attempted to stop the ravages. With 100 of his horsemen and his whole retinue he took shelter in the castle where the principle (*sic*) inland regents had already sought refuge leaving the town a prey to the rapacity of these mercenaries. The invaders meeting no resistance ventured even under the walls of the castle. A constant firing was kept but the guns inflicted more damage on the town than on the assailants. That day and the next the plunder continued but the fire did not seem to increase. In the morning of the 17th a Greek who had formerly lived at Surat called Nicholas Colosta came accompanied by a horseman demanded to see the Director. When admitted he told in Portuguese that the rebel had seized him and forced him into their service. He came in name of Sivagy to inform the Director and the English President that Prins Sia Sousa⁴ had formerly given Surat to him and as he wanted money to pay his troops, he asked us to supply him with it not naming any special sum however. As it is well-known that Prins Sia Sousa had lost his life in Aracan more than three years ago, the Director at once saw through the subterfuge. He replied that the company were merchants and that they did not keep their money lying idle so that there were very little money at the factory but that if a present of some spice would please Sivagy he was willing to give him same. The Director further charged the Greek to remind Sivagy that at Vingurla he had never troubled the company but rather shown himself friendly by giving them free escorts and therefore he quite hoped Sivagy would protect the company's servants in Surat against the evil-minded. In the afternoon we had again a false alarm but the menacing attitude of our guns kept the marauders away. However the flames broke out with redoubled force at several places at once and it

⁴Shah Suja, the second son of Shah Jahan and elder brother of Aurangzib. He was chased out of Bengal, of which province he was the Governor, by Mir Jumla and took shelter in Arakan where he perished with all his family.

was evident that the fire was intended for our destruction but when the flames were rapidly spreading towards the factory the wind suddenly changed and the company's property saved. Having heard that the English had made several sorties the Director sent a note to the English President informing him of the reply given to Sivagy's messenger and asking for news as to their position. The answer was that they had given the marauders a warm welcome and killed several of them. For fear of the fire extending to our store house order was given to pull down the roofs of a dop and as a protection against an attack at the gates we were busy raising barricades insides of all sorts of goods. The king's secretary who had also sought refuge in the castle sent a written request to the Director asking him to remove two chests with valuables, which he had left in his house, to the factory and keep for him in safety. The Director replied that he ought to have done as we and defended his own property and that if we did as he wished he would probably later on demand compensation from us if his property became a prey of the flames as well as ours. Our uneasiness was further increased because we knew that the *Maccaser* owing to the low tide proceeded but slowly on her way to Sualy, and it was rumour that Sivagy had about 40 frigates in the river, also intent on plunder. About nightfall we received the joyful intelligence that the *Maccaser* had safely reached Sualy, the ladies had gone on board the *Leerdam* and the goods again shipped. Although we were kept in a constant state of excitement by the noise the marauders made, for some cause or other they did not come too near.

Jan. 18th. This morning the Governor of the Surat Castle sent a message offering if necessary to send us some ammunition which was gratefully accepted. As the tumult seemed somewhat to subside, it was supposed the invaders were preparing to withdraw. In order to ascertain this fact one of our soldiers volunteered to investigate. He was at the same time entrusted with a note to the English President to which we received an answer later in the day.

The President proposed that should we receive another demand from Sivagy we should inform him that we intended to put our forces and those of the English together and conjointly defend our rights. He had been informed that our answer

had made Sivagy furious. The Greek who had been assailed and wounded and taken shelter in the English factory which was nearest. Our spy returned in the evening. He had been over all parts of the town. The houses of the principal merchants had been laid in ashes. He had also gone to the camp outside the town where he saw Sivagy sitting on the ground and his creatures bringing him the plunder. As there were no tents in the army it was supposed that their stay would only be short.

Jan. 19th. The Director received to-day a proposal from the castle to join in the dispersion of the plunderers but the Director sent a reply that the men he had were necessary to defend the factory and could not leave it, that it was the Governor's duty to free us and the town from these rough hordes. The news then spread that the regent of Brotche was approaching with a considerable force to relieve the town. The plunderers therefore renewed the fire and the blazing was so fierce and spread so quickly that it was resolved to remove the greater part of the goods and the books of the company on board one of the small vessels lying in the river. But again the wind veered and we were saved. The English President seeing we were in danger sent a messenger with the offer of assistance, for which we were very grateful, but there was no necessity of accepting it. We continued in the greatest anxiety for another day.

Jan. 20th. This morning news came that Sivagy with his plunder has left the town which was soon confirmed. With a view to the loss and expense the company has suffered through the weakness of the Governor the Director decided to remove the goods from the *Leerdam* which had been placed in the temporary store house and on which no duty had yet been paid and to refuse paying the king's toll on these or at least deducting the expenses for the defence of the company's property.

In a letter from Brotche factory Wagensvelt informs us that thousands of fugitives have arrived at that place, that trade is stopped and Dalle Suberder Chan⁵ was preparing for the relief of the town. He will come too late.

Monday 21st. Peace is restored. We have sent a report of the events to factor Clant at Brotche and Mr. Wagensvelt. It was soon evident that Sivagy and his troops had really with-

⁵ Diler Khan ?

drawn for the poor people soon came out of their hiding places. Many found their houses burnt to the ground. Half of this opulent city has been destroyed. Only a few houses close to the European factories have been spared from plunder as the robbers dare not venture too close to our cannons. If the rich merchant princes had only been willing to spend a few thousand rupees for the defence of their property they would not now have to regret the immense losses. The houses of company's agent Kistena with all its contents has also been destroyed. We fear that this will entail further loss on the company. The ambassador from Ethiopia, who was on his way to Delhi was also taken prisoner but as he had no other valuables besides the presents intended for the king he was released.

SECOND SACK OF SURAT

MSS. DUTCH RECORDS VOL. 29, NO. DCCLXIII

[Letter from the Dutch Resident at Surat to the Director of the Dutch Chartered East India Company, dated Nov. 19th, 1670.]

The French who here established a factory in the district under Sivasi's government had been informed by an autograph letter of his intended invasion with the advice that they should not disturb themselves for that he would take care of their safety. On his arrival the French factory was surrounded by Sivasi's soldiers, who were noisy and turbulent neighbours but otherwise inoffensive. The French did not attempt to make any opposition although at that time they numbered 150 whites, had about a dozen cannons of fair calibre, 400 fireballs and a large number of grenades, and they quietly suffered that two of their black servants were shot before their eyes, notwithstanding by valuable present they had obtained from Sivasi's representative the declaration that they should be free from molestation.

On board the English vessels were plenty of whites to defend their factory. They were sent on shore, numbering 110, among whom was a colonel, on his way from the king of England to the king of Persia. This colonel did good service. The English factory had been attacked by Sivasi's mercenaries and

they were on the point of being overpowered when the colonel saved the situation but before Sivasi withdrew from the town a better understanding had been arrived at.

The king of Cashar¹ had put all his reliance on the French. A little time before the arrival of Sivasi he had taken shelter with all his treasures in the old palace *carawānsara*² just opposite the French factory but was soon forced to leave it when all his wealth fell in the hands of Sivasi. The king now reproaches the French for not having come to his assistance and threaten to harm them whenever he finds an opportunity. He has already written to the king of this district about them saying that such deceitful people should not be allowed to reside in the land. Before Sivasi's appearance at Surat we had embarked the effects of the company and the most valuable merchandises on board the Galeot³ "*Forture*" and despatched to the basin of Sualy. We could only oppose to Sivasi's hordes 35 men in all, but luckily they did not molest us. A messenger had come from the invader to assure us that no harm would befall us if we remained quiet and requested that we should send one of our people to give our assurances that we would not interfere for or against him. Our messenger when brought in the presence of Sivasi who asked as to the best plan to despoil the principal merchants of their possessions and was required to bring the answer the next day together with that of the English to whom the same problem had been submitted. But when the messengers were ready to start the next day the news spread that Sivasi and his troops had left the town. Two of Sivasi's men who had come to the factory to serve as escorts to our messengers were thus left behind and we did not know what to do with them. We could not trust them in the town for they would certainly be killed. We could not keep them in the factory for the Governor would demand them and we should be accused of harbouring the enemy. We had them conducted at night outside the town and they safely reached the headquarters of Sivasi.

The cause of this hasty departure of the invaders cannot be

¹ The king of Kashghar, then a fugitive in India.

² Persian *Karwānsarāī*, a resting place for merchants and strangers in general.

³ Gallevat, a war boat with oars. For details see Sen, *Military System of the Marathas*, p. 180.

ascertained. Nobody opposed him and nobody seemed inclined to disturb him. He left Surat on the 16th October and on the 23rd it was again rumoured that he was returning with 6,000 horse and 10,000 foot and that he had already reached Pant a place about 25 miles distant. At once there was a general exodus and the town was changed from a busy port into the death like quiet of a desert. The Turkish merchants, who were using the *Caruna Sara* as their factory left the place in a hurry. The English and French also abandoned theirs leaving only half a dozen men to guard the removal. We got reinforcements from the fleete in all 52 men and placed two small guns in readiness with as many muskets and other implements of war as we thought necessary. Our small force, with displayed flags and beating of the drum thus proceeded from the fleete to our factory. This display of courage on our part had a good effect on the effeminate Moorish regents who had fled into the fort on the river. When the rumour of Sivasi's arrival proved false we were highly commended and the Governor promised to write to the king about it. These repeated false rumours keep the town in a continual state of excitement specially as it is certain that Sivasi is camped about 35 (93 ?) miles from Surat and can reach this place in three or four days.

Of course trade is entirely at a standstill. The affairs of the company were progressing so well here that we heartily deplore the unsettled state of affairs. The little Banian vessels which will take this letter to Ceylon is ready to start on her voyage we must therefore conclude. On the shore of Sualy Nov. 17th, 1670.

CORONATION OF SHIVAJI

DUTCH RECORDS, VOL. XXXIV
LETTERS FROM INDIA, 1674-1679

[No. 841. To Joan Mastsuyker, Governor-General and the Council of India, from Abraham Le Feber, etc., dated Wingurla, 13 October, 1674.]

The freebooter Sivasy has been making preparations for some time past for having himself crowned king, and in the

month of June everything was ready and the Brahmans and Bhuts¹ (who are learned men of the highest caste), and 11,000 persons from many places round about, with their wives and children, were assembled to perform the ceremony, according to the custom of the country, near the castle of Rairy. Suasy made known his intention to the principal and most learned persons, and said that he could not be crowned until he had abandoned his present caste of Bhonsla and taken the caste of Kettery,² and that it was fitting that they should induct him into that caste. Thereupon the learned men answered that that could hardly be, as his ancestors had always been Bhonslas. Suasy replied that the Bhonslas were descended from the Kettery caste and that that he wished could certainly be done. So the other party, taking into consideration that Suasy could not be crowned unless he first became a Kettery, and that he had promised not to act or rule tyrannically and badly as before, on the 8th of June last, with great ceremony, they granted him the caste of Kettery and intended also to initiate him into the rules of the caste; but he demanded to be taught the Brahman rule. This, however, they refused, but one of the chief among them complied, and Suasy ordered 7,000 pagodas to be given to him as a present. This day was given up to the ceremony and a sum of 17,000 pagodas distributed to the crowd which had collected to witness it. On the 14th June Suasy made a great distribution to the learned men, for the washing away of the sins he had committed, of gold to the weight of his body (weighing 17,000 pagodas, or about 160 pounds), and the same of silver, copper, spelter, tin, lead and iron, and of very fine linen, camphor, salt, nails, nuts and mace, with the same quantity of other native spices, butter, sugar, etc. Of all fruits and all sorts of eatables, betel and arrack³ included, he also gave to the weight of his body.

Two of the learned men proposed 1,600 pagodas in addition, on account of the sin Suasy might have committed by his

¹ Bhāt, a caste of genealogists and bards.

² Kshatriya, the second of the four original castes among the Hindus. The kings and warriors belonged to the Kshatriya caste.

³ More probably, betel and areca. Betel leaves (*Piper betel*) are chewed with areca nuts and *chunam* by Indians. Betel was very popular with the Luso-Indian and Portuguese inhabitants of Goa.

burnings, involving the death of women, children, cattle and Brahmans.

On the 15th of June, all the fitting ceremonial having been accomplished, he (Suasy) washed his body with water from the Ganges, which he had brought for the purpose, and gave to each Brahman that day 100 pagodas and to the chief of them 5,000 pagodas, and promised to give him 2,000 pagodas a year.

On the morning of the 16th of June he seated himself on the new throne which had been made ready, and was invested by the assembly with the name Sivaraj.

[Here follow details of gifts to Ministers.]

Then his other Ministers came before him to do him homage and stood in two rows at the side of the throne, and his eldest son, Sambasy Raja, sat at the foot of his throne.

On the 17th June a general gift of largesses was begun to all the assembled envoys and learned men: 3, 4 or 5 rupees to each and 1 or 2 to the women and children. This distribution continued for 12 days, and everyday Suasy feasted the people. It is said that this ceremony and distribution of largesses cost 150,000 pagodas.

Suasy's mother having come to be present at her son's coronation, although about 80 years old, died 12 days after, leaving to her son about 25 lakhs of pagodas—some say more.

In the beginning of September last, in Condael, about four hours from here, one of Suasy's generals called Amasy, came with 3,000 soldiers to surprise the fortress Pondo; but Mamet Chan who was there, being informed of his coming, armed himself against him, so that the aforesaid pundit had no luck and has accomplished nothing.

**ENGLISH EMBASSIES TO THE
COURT OF SHIVAJI**

(FROM UNPUBLISHED PAPERS IN THE INDIA OFFICE)

TREATIES WITH SHIVAJI

O. C. 3758

A Narrative of the Severall Treatyes between Sevagee Rajahs Envoys and the H'nble. Gerald Aungier, President, &c., touching the Losses sustained by the Honoble. Company and their Servants, occationed by Sevagees plundering and robbing the Towne of Rajapore in the years 16 (59/60).

Sevagee Rajah having made some overtures of composing the old difference betweene the Honoble. Company and him, occasioned by his robbing and plundering Rajapore. Captain Stephen Ustick was sent to begin the treaty with him, but could effect little, for that Sevagee would not heare of making aney reparations. After his return Sevagee sent his Envoy called Sundergee to the President att Bombay, who made soe slight proposalls that the President and Councell thought not fitt to accept them, but sent him back to his Master with an account of what wee demanded for restitution.

1672 (1672/3 February)

Whereupon, in February 1672 Sevagee sent another Envoy called Pillagee to treat againe on said affaires. But in regard the Dutch fleete was then upon this Coast and dayly expected to attempt this island, the President thought it not fitting to prosecute the Treaty, but to suspend it; and the rather because it seemed not consistant with the Honoble Companys interest to conclude itt, for that the Envoy tooke advantage of our present troubles and warr with the Dutch; soe that the Envoy was dismissed, carrying a civill leter to Sevagee, to keepe the Treaty on foote, giving him the reasons why his Envoy was sent back againe with no progress into the buysness hee was sent about.

1673 May 19

Mr. Thomas Niccolls was sent to Sevagee to treat with

him concerning our demands and for composing the said difference, who could effect nothing and soe returned againe the 16th of June following, unto whose Narrative the Honoble. Company are humbly refferred.

JUNE (1673).

Sevagee sent an other Envoy called Bimmagee Pundett to treat further concerning said affaire, who was received severall tymes by the President, and after many long discourses and treating, the said Envoy was brought to a nearer and better accomodation then aney had done before, though farr distant to our demand. Att length, when the said Envoy (as hee declared) could proceed noe further, hee desired to returne home againe to his master, and that for the more speedy determination of the controversy betweene us, some person of trust might bee sent with him to treat further with Sevagee, and to urge those many reasons the President had declared unto him. Whereupon the President sent Naransimay in company with the said Envoy, with instructions for his management of the Treaty, resolving to put an end to those great charges the Honoble. Company have bin at in sending and receiving Envoyes about this affaire, giving the said Naransimay power that if hee could bring Sevagee to allow 8,000 Pagothos to be paid in ready money or goods, and five years, or att least three yeares, free custome at Rajapore, that hee should, upon those tearmes, conclude with him, and not to accept of aney thing less without further order.

SEPTEMBER, 24, 1673.

The said Naransimay returned in company with aforesaid Bimmagee Pundett from Sevagee and was againe received, who after some complements on the first day of his reception, though (as customary) nothing was urged concerning the affaire in dispute, yett hee declared to the President that Sevagee had given him full power to conclude the Treaty, and that he had some objections against our demands, which when answered, he doubted not but to our satisfaction and content to settle and put an end to this affaire, wherefore hee desired to bee dispatched with all possible speed, in regard Sevagee had a great flying army ready for action, and if hee should march away

before his returne, hee should with much difficulty find where his Master was quartered, wherefore the President ordered Mr. John Child, Mr. Stephen Ustick and Mr. Francis Day to give the said Envoy a meeting on the first of October and to receive his objections against our demands which Commissioners, according to order, mett at Mr. Childs house the said day and offered the papers of the particulars of the Honoble. Companys demands, amounting to Pagothos 39,957 ; 36 Jetts, with the Intrest thereof, which said accounts was interpreted to the Envoy.

In answer to this account the Envoy replied, seemed much startled at soe great demand, that his Master sent him with full power and great hopes to end the controversy between us ; but what his Master received into his treasury belonging to the English when hee robbed Rajapore, was so disproportionable to our demands, that hee feared little would bee effected herein. However, for the better accomodation thereof, hee desired our particulars might bee examind with his accounts of what his Master really received from the English.

1st. As to the brimstone, Granado shells, brass potts and such like weights and combustable goods, his Master never received aney, nor can itt be expected, for, said hee, the Granado shells alone would have required 2,000 men or thereabouts to carry them, and his Master at that tyme had the King of Vizapores forces at his heeles, soe that hee was forced to leave Rajapore and retire to his strong holds, leaving the towne to the Kings army, who had itt in their possession three months after hee had robbed itt, and when hee returned to it, found noe such things, so that itt cannot bee reasonably expected his Master should bee responsible for the same.

2d. As to the debts due from the Rajapore merchants to the Company, hee holds his Master not at all lyable to make satisfaction, for should it please God this dispute between my Master and you bee now composed, and that my Master hereafter should robb Surratt or aney other place where your Factors are, you may as well demand such debts as are owing you in the severall places, hee having disenabled your debtors to pay you by robbing, when you can really expect noe more then your Factors and such goods as are yours to be free from his souldiers. Otherwise my Master must inquire of you who are

your debtors, that he might not robb them, which cannot bee expected att such a tyme.

3. As to the King of Vizapore, Edell Shaw, and Rustome Jehmahs debts, his Master is as little lyable to make their debts good as the Rajapore Merchants for the afforesaid reasons.

4. As for what lost by the severall perticular English men, his Master admired the same should amount to so great a summe (and for the Brokers loss he holds himself wholly unconcerned to make good, being a Country Merchant and not liveing immediately in the English Factory), having received in all no more then the following perticulars, vizt: one morter peece, three horses, one silver bridle, one plate(d) saddle, &ca. horse furniture, Mds. $6\frac{1}{2}$ and $5\frac{1}{2}$ Tolas, a remnant of Scarlett cloth, one half peece and a remnant of course cloth, five rings, two sett with dyamonds, two with rubyes, and the other with a saphire, sixty three Pagothos. Tipkee,¹ twenty two Dabull Lawres,² Gold $1\frac{1}{4}$ seer and $1\frac{1}{4}$ tolas, two little brass gunns, eight looking glassess, all which proceeding perticulars, proceeding by an impartiall valuation, will not amount to above Pagothos 4,000, including the 1,500 Ryalls³ of 8 belonging to Mr. Henry Revington, which is allowed in the $6\frac{1}{2}$ mds. of silver. To all which wee answered that although he pleaded his Master received no more then about 4,000 Pagothos and brings Noransimay who was imployed in this affaire by the President and Councell to Sevagy as a witness to perswade us that he received no more, Sevagee Rajah himself shewing Noransimay an old book wherein the perticulars were mentioned, which although graunted to be true, yett Sevagee Rajah ought in justice to make us full satisfaction, for had not hee robbed Rajapore, the Company had

¹ See page 80, *supra*. According to Fryer, a *Tipkee Pagoda* was equal to 4 Rupees (*A New Account of East India and Persia*, p. 207).

² See note I, page 77, *supra*.

³ "The commonest European coin in the East was at this time the Spanish rial of eight; it may be taken as equivalent to two rupees." (Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 330). Sir Thomas Roe says that a "royall of eight" was worth 4s. 6d. in English money (*The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India*, ed. Sir William Foster, p. 424). The exchange value of a rupee was then about 2s. 3d. (Irvine, *Manucci's Storia*, Vol. IV, p. 436.) When Tavernier visited India, the exchange was 208 to 214 and 215 rupees for 100 Spanish *real*. (Tavernier, *Travels in India*, ed., Ball, Vol. I, p. 24.)

never sustained that loss.

To this the Envoy answered that his Master hath robb'd severall Kings and Princes and many merchants but never made aney satisfaction, and what hee now offers to us is purely out of a desire of friendship with the English who beare so good an esteeme in all nations, and not aney private intrest of his owne, as it appeares by his friendly usage in permitting this Island to bee furnished from his territoryes dayly with severall sorts of provissions and other necessaryes, although what assistance the English can afford him, itt may bee easely perceived his Master wants it not ; for notwithstanding this old differancey betwixt us and himself, hee hath been continually imbroyled in warr with the great Mogull, and his dominions rather increaseth then diminisheth ; and for what damage the English can doe him, his Master is not at all concerned at, for they can onley meete with some few of those merchants vessells which belong to his ports. However, his Master is willing to settle a friendship and good corrispondence with us (as) may appear by the tender of 5,000 Pagothos to end all disputes betweene us concerning Rajapore.

To which wee againe replyed that this was so farr disagreeing to our demands that wee cannot but conclude with ourselves that hee had no order to end the dispute, but as others did formerly, came on the same account onely to discourse in a formall manner rather then to compose the buysness ; and however the little occasion he pretends to have of our friendship and also the little esteeme hee hath of our remember his Masters salt fleet might have been disturbed here, to his no small detriment, and his owne trading vessells, as well as those of his merchants, if wee once had begunn to seize, might sonne require [*sic.* requite ?] our loss, and possibly hee may see it sooner then hee expected, seeing wee have endeavoured all faire means and cannot procure aney thing of satisfaction, and that if hee hath no better tearmes then these to offer us, hee need not give himself aney further trouble, for we think this answer not fitting to deliver unto our Governor, but could heartily wish that, since it hath bin so ordered that he and wee are appointed to bring this business to some issue, he would bee so prudent as to so well consider his Masters Intrest and to shew the great witt he discovered by his many argu-

ments and strong disputes in advising with himself how to afford us some better means of accomodation, and wee shall be ready to give him an other meating when hee shall appoint.

3 OCTOBER, 1673.

The 3rd current the said John Child &ca., gave Sevagees Envoy a second meeting, and the whole day being near spent in fending and proving the preceding buysness, att last the Envoy consented to allow the English 7,000 Pagothos. To which wee answered that itt was pittifull a thing wee scorned to accept of. Upon which the Envoy desired a hearing from our Governor, which wee told him he could not, except he had some better tearmes to offer; whereupon he answered us so that from it we had reason to beleive he would make some further proposall, and being passionatly desirous, wee promised to use our intrest with our Governor for the gratifying his request.

The 4th currant the said Envoy was admitted by the Governor a hearing in Bombay Castle, the President haveing before been informed of all passages betweene Mr. Child &ca. and the Envoy; however was forced to spend maney houres in hearing the said Envoy[']s severall arguments from himself and severall objections, till att leangth the Envoy proffered 9,000 Pagothos to bee paid in 7 yeares tyme in goods and out of the customes when the English settled at Rajapore, but at last his finall proposall was, and higher he dare not rise, haveing gone already, as hee declared, beyond his orders, to allow us Asmolah⁴ Pagothos 10,025, which should be paid as followeth (vizt.) 2,500 Pagothos to bee allowed in Rajapore Customes of such goods as the Company shall export or import and the other three parts in goods where they shall be required (vitz.) one part immediately upon our setling a Factory in Rajapore, one part that day twelve month after, and the remayning part the next ensewing yeare. And for the King of Vizapore, Ally Edells share and Rustom Jemahs debts, Sevagee is to use his utmost endeavours they may bee recovered.

⁴ "The *Sungar Pagod* is 8s. 9d. The *Tipkee Pagods*, 4 *Rupees*. But in *Vattaw* differs from 100 *Sungar*, to 118 and 123. The *Asmeloh Pagod* is 1 per cent less than the *Sungaree* (Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia*, p. 207).

And for such debts as are owing to the Honoble. Company by the Rajapore Merchants upon our setling there, if they are able, hee will endeavour to make them willing to give us full satisfaction or such as may bee for our content.

EMBASSY OF LT. USTICK

O.C. 3649

The council at Bombay to the Company dated 14 June and 12 July 1672.

As to the Treaty with Seavagee, we have made a fair progresse in it, having sent Mr. Ustick lately to treat with him in person, by whom he was received with extraordinary respects and outward expressions of much friendshipp, but as to satisfaction for former damages, the disproportion betwixt our demaunds and what he pretends to have taken from us is soe great that we shall hardly come to a right understanding therein. We hope to prevaile with him for some allowance, but how much we cannot assure ourselves off, his great successe haveing made him as high in his owne thoughts as he is reputed in the eye of the world. We are not wanting to let him know how considerable your power is, and how advantagious your comerce will be to his Porte, nor doth Sevagee need a monitor to tell him the want we have of his wood, with which your Island is supplied, and the other emoluments you will reape by haveing his Countrey open unto you, soe that the benefitts of a fair correspondence being reciprocally, there is noe doubt but we shall close in the end, and there is nothing [?to] sticke betweene us but ascertaining the summe to be agreed upon for satisfaction and the manner how it is to be paid, concerning which we hope to give your Honour a more full account in our next.

* * *

Sevagee suffers not his neighbours to rest, even in this dead time of the raines, having surprised the countreyes belonging to two Radja's, called the Radjahs of Guar¹ and Ramnugar,

¹The Rajas of Jawhar and Ramnagar. This substantially corroborates Carré's account in pp. 173-177.

both bordering on the Portugall[s], of whom also he demaunds tribute, threatning [to] make warr upon them if they doe not pay it him, in so much that the Portuguesse estate, though it was very low before, yet now is much more in daunger, by this means he hath also opned a nearer way to Suratt, and it is credibly beleived here that he hath now sent his victorious army thether. If so (which God divert), he will doubtless doe great mischiefe, but at the worst we have reason to hope, through the overtures of friendshipp which of late have passed 'twixt us, that he will not attempt any evill to your estate. However, we dare not assure ourselves of it, in respect he doth so little regard his word; therefore have given Mr. Gray and's friends there timely notice to prepare for the worst, and not to trust him too much.

EMBASSY OF THOMAS NICCOLLS

O.C. 3784

(Instructions to Thomas Niccolls)

MR. THOMAS NICCOLLS

Dureing the Honoble, Company[s] settlement on this Island the various circumstances which hath occured in their affaires, togeather with the continued warrs and disturbances betwixt the Great Mogull and Sevagee and betweene Sevagee and us hath hindered us from makeing inspections by way of trade into the neighbouring partes, whereof we are in a manner totally ignorant.

[Here follow instructions for visiting "Negotam" and "Juneah" with a view to establishing English settlements if the prospect of trade is thought sufficiently hopeful.]

"If you heare any news you must not faile to advise by all conveighances and by cossits² hired on purpose, touching that motion of the Mogull and Sevagees armes and what the sucresse of their warr are

Bombay Primo May 1673.

O.C. 3786

² Arabic, *kāşid*, a courier.

[Instructions for Mr. Thomas Niccolls to be observed in his Treaty with Sevagee, given him in Bombay the 17th day of May 1673.]

The occasion of this your present journey to Sevagee is to treat with him and receive his answers touching severall matters of import.

Severall overtures of treaty hath passed betweene us for the accomodating and reconciling the former difference caused by the violence which he hath used to this Companyes estate at Rajapore. Touching which wee were neer come to a conclusion, hee having sent one of his Envoyes hither, by name Pillagee, on purpose to bring it to an issue ; but the Dutch fleet under Reickloff Van Goens arriveing just at that time, forced us to suspend the treaty until a better opportunity, when it was agreed betweene us that after the departure of the Dutch shipp, Pillagee[e], on advise from us, should returne hither to prosecute and conclude the Treaty. Now so it hath happened that notwithstanding severall letters hath been sent for Pillagee, he hath not appeared nor returned any answer, but we have received a kind letter from Sevagee himselfe, wherein he seems very desirous to conclude the Treaty, and sayes he hath given Pillagee full instructions to make an end determine the said controversy with us. Since which another unhappy accident hath succeeded, for by letters lately received from Carwarr,³ we are given to understand that Sevagees army having surprized and ransacked the city of Hubely,⁴ therein hath seized and plundered a considerable parte of the Companyes estate, the particulars whereof wee have not as yet. Wherefore this new act of violence succeeding the former, gives us reason to suspect that his intentions may be still ill towards us. And for the better understanding what his designe is, wee have thought good to send you up to discourse with him, as well to demand satisfaction for the former injury. As for his last act of violence at Hubely, you may tell him wee have a better opinion of him then to think it was done by his order. If so, you may tell him tis our desire and we do expect he doe immediately make

³ Karwar, 50 miles south-east of Goa and 295 miles south-east of Bombay.

⁴ Hubli, about 13 miles south-east of Dharwar.

restitution of what hath been plundered from the English if he doth desire to keepe freindshipp with us ; but if otherwise, wee desire to know his mind that wee may take a course some other wayes to doe the Company and nation right.

Your are earnestly and resolvedly to press for his resolution to this demand before you admitt of any Treaty concerning the former business. And you are further to give him to understand that a vessell belonging to Rajapore bound for Muscatt, being driven into this Port, wee have thought good to lay an embargo on the vessell and goods till we receive his answeere touching this business of Hubely. You may further discourse with him as occasions serves what hath passed between his enemy Sidye and us, and that wee have not admitted his wintering here, to lett him see that wee doe not concern ourselves in the quarrell betwixt them, and that wee doe not give him further assistance then the pure necessity and freindshipp to the Mogull requires us, as our present affaires stands, nor shall we give him further except Sevagee provokes us to the contrary.

You are further to give him to understand that upon the confidence wee had of a good conclusion of the former Treaty betweene us, wee gave permission to severall merchants belonging to this Port to send a Fleet of vessells laden with salt for the supply of his country, which wee understand to be a great office of kindness and friendship to him, seeing he could not possibly be supplied by any other meanes ; but the said merchants hath presented unto us many complaints that the Haveldars and Governors of the said Porte wherein the salt was unladen doe refuse to pay the money due for the said salt, which proceeding wee doe not any wayes understand and esteeme it as a breach of the friendshipp, for that they promised to pay halfe the money in Bombay before the fleete went and the other halfe at the delivery of the salt, but they have totally broke their contract. Wherefore our desire and expectation is that he doth give order to the said Haveldars and Governors to make speedy satisfaction for the said salt, if he doth desire to keepe amity with us or to be ever againe supplied with the like kindness.

These particulars wee would have you represent unto him in a fair and discreete way, and desire his speedy answeere. And in case he gives you reasonable satisfaction that he intends

friendshipp and amity with us, you may then move touching the sending of Pillagee hither againe for the concludeing of the former Treaty and settling a future correspondence with us. Wee herewith deliver unto you letters to Sevagee, Annagee Pundett and to Pillagee, which you are to deliver to them with your owne hands and to procure an answere thereunto with all speed.

In case Sevagee himselfe be not there, you are to apply yourself to his sonn or whoever is chiefe in command and to endeavour that you may gaine a speedy dispatch and returne againe unto us before the raines are sett in, and you are to advise by all conveyances what you shall learne worthy our notice. Soe comending you to the Almightyes protection and remaine.

Your loving Friends.

Bombay, 17th May 1673.

The merchants of this Island are often troubled with the renders of the maine who demaunds coustome for the firewood that is brought hither; wherefore you may endeavour to get his *Cole* or order that he take noe custome here for such things, nor timber, for he payes noe custome here for such things. But if they make us pay custome they must expect the like from us. You may also inquire what customes they will take for the passage of goods through his Country to the Mogull or Decan Country and to gett his order to the Haveldares for their passage at the lowest rate you can.

[Endorsed].

Instructions for Mr. Thomas Niccolls to be observed in his Treaty with Sevagee, Dated 17th May 1673 (copy) No. 14 [per] Caesar 1673.

O.C. 3787

Diary of Thomas Niccolls
(1673)

Having received orders and instructions from the Honble. Gerald Aungier, Governor of Bombay and President of India,

&c. to treat with and demand satisfaction of Sevagee for plundering the Honble. Companys Factory of Hubely, as also the old business of Rajapore.

1673 MAY THE 19th

Being Whitsun Munday I departed from Bombay with Samgee, a Banyan and his servant and two servants of my owne and two Peons and Six Banderiens¹ and four and twenty Coolies,² in all 37 persons, to goe to Rajery hill where Sevagee ordinarily resides, and about midnight we landed at Neguttanna,³ a towne at the head of a fine river in Sevagees Countrey, where wee stayed that night.

20th. Having wrote to his Honour and sent the boate back again, wee came in. Wee proceeded on our journey and left a towne called Polly⁴ on our right hand, and not farr from it on our left hand a hill called Sier Gurr,⁵ which Siddy Sambole long kept from Sevagee (though in the middle of his countrey) but at last was forced to quitt it, not receiving recruit from the Sidy of Danda Raspoory. About two a clock wee reached a little towne seated by a river. The townes name is Cooluck where wee boated and travelled about six miles farther and lay that night at Calloone.

21th. This day wee travelled in the raine and about noon reached a towne called Pawnoosa where we dined, and a little before night we came to Rajery, a miserable dirty towne at the foot of the hill of Rajery Gurr, where wee understood that Sevagee was gone on a piece of devotion, as he gave out, to wash his body in a Tanck about two daies journey of, and that he would returne in a few daies. I judge Rajery to be 30 miles

¹ Bhandari, name of a caste. The usual occupation of the Bhandaris is to draw toddy from coco-palms. They were at one time largely enlisted in the Bombay militia.

² The word now signifies a hired labourer. It is probably used here in its original sense, the name of a race or caste in Western India who used to serve as labourers and burden-carriers. "The *Kolis* proper are a true hill-people, whose especial locality lies in the Western Ghats."

³ Nagothna, 15 miles south of Pen and about 40 miles south-east of Bombay.

⁴ Pali or Sarasgad.

⁵ Surgad, 8 miles east of Roha town.

from Neguttanna.

22th. I sent up the hill to Sumbagee Rajah, Sevagees Sone, for leave to goe up the hill to speake with him in his fathers absense. Who presently gave order to his fathers guard to let me come up, but it rained soe hard all this day that wee could not goe.

23th. In the morning wee went up that steep hill, where in many places there are staires made, and going into the gate the staires are cut out of the firme rock. Where the hill is not naturally strong, there they build walls of about 24 foot high, and within 40 foot of the first wall there is another such a wall, that if the ennemy should gaine one, they have another to beate him out, soe that if the hill be furnished with provisions, a few men may keepe it from all the world ; and as for water, there are many large tancks cutt in the rock, which every raines fill with water sufficient and to spare for the whole yeare. On the top of the hill is a large towne, though of poore ill built houses, but on the highest peake is Sevagees lodgings, built guardrangle, with a large house in the middle where he heares businesse of import. After I had stayed here a while, Pelagee came to me and acquainted me that Rajah Sumbagee was a younge man and of little experience in weighty affaires and whom his father did not trust with matters of import, soe delivering his Honours letter to him, I enquired of him why he came not to Bombay to finish the businesse of Rajapore which he had begun. He said there was order for the satisfaction of that businesse, but he receiving noe letter from Bombay, did not goe. In the evening came Geragee Rajah to see me and to buy any thing I had to sell, who discoursed to me much of the greatnesse of Sevagee and his late successe, and that he will now pay his army, and at last bought some cloth of me, but I could never gett of him what I sold it for to the full.

24th. Sumbagee sent for me to goe sitt in a place where he would come presently to me, where Sevagees Secretary was, who began to discourse about many frivolous questions. One was how many men, horses and souldiers our King had in England. I asked him how many leaves there were on their trees. He told me he could not tell. Neither could I tell him what number of men and horses our King had. Then the Rajah Sumbagee coming, wee left of discourse, and when I sawe he

expected to heere my businesse, I told him I had order, in his fathers absence, to acquaint him that when there was some hopes of making a friendly end with his Father about the old business of Rajapore; that some of his fathers forces had plundered one of our Factorys at Hubley of a very considerable estate, and that I was sent to demand sattisfaction, as well for the one as the other; and withall that I had some other businesse of less import about salt sent into Sevagees countrey by contract, and that now the salt was delivered Sevagees people would not keep their contract; and also that what boates were sent for wood to our neighbouring rivers were of late troubled about customes. To all which the young Rajah answered he could say nothing to these affaires, more then that he would send to his father to acquaint him of my being there and that might hasten his returne, which he expected in a few daies, and desired me to goe downe againe in regard of the unhealthfullnesse of soe high a place; soe I tooke leave and went downe.

25th. I wrote to his Honour to acquaint him of my proceeding.

30th. Newes that Sevagee had sent for some fresh cloathes, which is a signe that he intends to stay long abroad.

31th. I went up in Handole to Pillagee to desire him to come to me to take his advice if I had best stay or goe. In the afternoon he came to me and advised me by all meanes to goe, in regaurd it was uncertain when the Rajah would returne, and if the floods should come, I could not passe all this raines.

JUNE

1st. We had newes that Sevagee hath taken a little hill neare Goa.

2d. I sent up the hill Samgee to Sumbagee Rajah to take his orders about the salt businesse and wood, but in the afternoon wee had certain notice of the Rajahs being at his Mothers Castle, about a mile of, and at night wee sawe him goe up the hill.

3d. I went up the hill to speake with the Rajah. About 11 a clock he came into the roome where I was and turned all his souldiers out of it, but would not speake with me, it being not as yet a good hour. At 4 a clock he sent to me for what letters

I had, soe I sent him his Honours letters by Samgee, and at 5 a clock he sent to me to make me ready, and he would presently speake with me ; soe I was brought where he was to sitt but not as yet come, where I stayed for him. When he was neare I rose and met him at the doore and begged his pardon that I knewe him not when he came into my roome. All was well, and [he] tooke me by the hand and shewed me where I should sitt, and which was on the left hand near to one of his side pillowes, and then he asked me my businesse. I acquainted him that when there was great hopes of a friendly accomodating the old businesse of Rajapore and that the President had it in his thoughts to choose persons fitt to sent there, he received letters that the Factory of Hubely was plundered of a very considerable estate by his people, which had broken of his Honours thoughts for the present of settling any factory in his countreys, and hath sent me to knowe from himself whither this last businesse was done by his appointment or command, or whither he did approve of the action.

Hee answered, "I never gave any orders to disturb the English in any way of their factorys, but have ever had a good liking or opinion of them." Then I told him, since he had declared soe himselfe, we still tooke him for our good friend, notwithstandinge our present losse, and being our friend we hoped and expected he would give satisfaction for what was taken from us. He answered, "my people which were thereabouts are there still, and I have not received any letters from them of any such matters ; neither can I as yet give you any other answer to your demands, and that it is necessary for me to knowe who the persons were and under whose command, and a particular of what goods were taken."

I asked him, if all these should be produced, would he now give me his promise to make satisfaction, but he seemed not to take notice of that question but sent away a servant to fetch some Pawne⁶ for us. I sat still awhile. Then he asked me if I had any other businesse. I told I was not yet answered to my

⁶ "The betel-leaf (q.v.) Hind. *pān*, from Skt. *parṇa*, 'a leaf'. It is a North Indian term, and is generally used for the combination of betel, areca-nut, lime &c., which is politely offered (along with otto of roses) to visitors, and which intimates the termination of the visit." (*Hobson Jobson*, p. 689.)

last demand. He answered, "I cannot give you any other answer at present."

Then I acquainted him that wee were ready and willing to doe kindnesses to his people, and had made contracts in Bombay to carry salt into some of his ports for them. Yett, when they had gott the salt home in their owne countrey, they abused us and did not keepe to their bargaine ; and I desired his orders to those places that right and justice might be done us. He told me it should be done to our content. Then I told him that of late our boates, which were sent to the neighbouring ports about us for timber and firewood, were troubled with certain persons that farmed the customes there ; and in regaurd wee never used to pay customes for such things before, neither did we make them pay customes for such petty things, wee desired his letters to the habaldarrs about us that wee might not pay custome for them and he answered, "I will give you my order, you shall pay none hereafter."

Then I asked him, if wee should have occasion to carry goods through his countrey, what customes would he demand of us. He answered he would consider of that.

The he gave us some bettle nutt and Pawne, and to me two course striped cuttanees⁷ and two salloe⁸ sashes, and to Samgee one piece of the like cuttanee, and then rose up, and wee parted ; and as soone as I came into my chamber, he sent Pillagee to me to tell me I might goe downe the hill and leave Samgee above for the letters. I told Pillagee that I expected I should have spake with him again about Rajapore businesse and that I could not goe for Bombay without Pillagee went with me. Pillagee said he would acquaint the Rajah with what I said, and soe I left Samgee above and went downe the hill.

I expected that Sevagee would have spoke to me concerning the Sidy, but he said not one word of him, neither of the ship, although he received letters this day from the merchants of her, and at his rising from me he was urged to speake to me about it ; but he did not, but told the fellow, as I am informed by one of our persons, that if the English would part with the

⁷ "Some kind of piece-goods, apparently either of silk or mixed silk and cotton." (*Hobson Jobson*, p. 289.)

⁸ A soft cotton stuff of Turkey red colour.

goods, they might, but he could not force them, and I doe believe he would be glad if wee would sattisfy ourselves any such way to excuse him for it.

6th. Samgee stayed above two daies on the hill ere he came downe, and when he came brought only his orders about the salt and wood businesse, and the Rajah sent me word he would send an answer to the President by one of his owne people named Beema Pundett, and that I might goe to Choull to gett a boate, and he should be there in a daie or two after me; soe I left a peon there to come with Beema and wee left Rajery to goe for Choul.

7th. and met his Honours letter at Nigeampoor⁹ about 12 a clock, where it thundered much and soe much raine fell, wee could not ford the river, but were forced to stay there all night.

8th. The waters were abated, and wee got over and to Astomee¹⁰ about two a Clock, where I hired a boate to carry us to Choul, were wee arrived at night, and wrote to his Honour of my proceedings, and sent what papers I had from Sevagee, and in regaurd his Honour in his last letter ordered me to stay till I heard further from him, I wrote to his Honour I would stay until I heard further from him.

9th. I went to the Captain of Choul to give him a visit, who understanding I lay at a Moore house last night, he ordered me a house and other necessaries in the City, to whom I was much obliged.

This City, or Citadell rather, is built circular, the whole being encompassed with 9 bastions, some after the old manner of $\frac{1}{2}$ moones, but most angular with but few ordinance, but are said to be very good. It is also entreanched as farr as they durst for fear the sea breakes in within; it hath been furnished with fair buildings but now $\frac{3}{4}$ parts thereof are ruinous and the rest hardly two families in a streete. Whither occasioned by the unhealthinesse of the place or that they are removed I knowe not, soe that at present there are none but a few souldiers, except ecclesiastick. Within the walls are 6 churches, viz. St. Domingo, St. Francisco, St. Augustino, St. Paulo, Misericorida and De Sey. Without the walls are four, viz. St. Sebas-

⁹ Nizampur, in the Kolaba district about 8 miles north-east of Mangaon.

¹⁰ Ashtami, a small town opposite Roha on the other side of the creek.

tiano, St. Joane De Merce and De Madre De Dios and one over the river called Nos Seignora De Marr.¹¹

13th. I received his Honours letter to goe for Bombay.

14th. I went to Batty, but noe boate come to fetch me.

15th. In the afternoone the Haval Durr of old Choul sent me word that the Brahmany was come from Sevagee and desired I would stay a day for him at Batty, which I did, but he came not.

17th. This morning the boate came and we went abroad presently and about two a clock arrived at Bombay with safety.

This is a true account of what passed in my journey to Sevagee.

THOMAS NICCOLLS

(Endorsed) May and June 1673.

Mr. Thomas Niccolls his Diary of his journey to Sevagee

EMBASSY OF HENRY OXINDEN

O.C. 3807

[Instructions given by the President for Nara Simay to observe in the Treaty betweene the Hon'ble. Company and Sevagee Rajah.]

[JUNE, 1673]

The Envoy of Sevagee Rajah, called by the name of Bhimagee Pundett, having declared on behalfe of the said Sevagee Rajah that he is contented to pay 12,000 Pagodes, in regard of the loss that the English had received by the robbery of Rajapore, the Governor and Council cannot accept of the aforesaid summe by reason of having no just accompt of the greate loss they had, which amounts to above 90,000 Pagodes, and though the said Envoy declares that Sevagee Rajah did not receive so much, yett the loss to the English in Rajapore occasioned by him was so much, besides the loss of particular

¹¹ *Igreja de Nossa Senhora de Mar*, or Church of our Lady of the Sea built by the famous Franciscan friar Antoniso do Porto.

English men which amounts to near 20,000 Pagodes new, besides the said Companys loss. And having an express order from his Majestie of Greate Brittain not to agree in the Treaty of peace with the said Sevagee untill the said summe of 20,000 Pagodes of the said English men be restored, yett the President and Councill, to manifest their good will have granted, for the consideration of friendship with the said Sevagee Rajah, to accept, instead of 20,000 Pagodes, the summe of 12,000 pagodes, to be paid for the said perticular English men, which summe is to be received in ready money or in goods. And as to what belongs unto the Honoble. Company, the President and Councill hath agreed that instead thereof, the said Sevagee Rajah shall grant the English nation liberty to trade seaven yeares time with the port of Rajapore, not paying any customes, or five yeares at the least, which will be a greate advantage and profit to Sevagee Rajah in increasing his estate and credit.

As to the two gunns that Sevagee Rajah desired by his Envoy, Bhimgee Pundett, you shall answer that after the business is ended and peace made, he shall not have only two, but as many as he will, and likewise any other thinge that he hath need of.

For granting the Customes free for seaven yeares Sevagee Rajah may thinke it too much, to which you are to answer that though wee doe not pay customes for our goods, yett other merchants shall pay for their goods and for any others that the said merchants shall bring in returne of ours, by which the said Sevagee Rajah will reap great profit and his Port will thereby flourish.

If Sevagee Rajah shall make any question about the vessell of Rajapore which was forced by a storme into Bombay, you are to answer that all vessells that are driven by stormes into the Portugall lands, or the lands of Sevagee Rajah, are lost, which he understands very well; and for this reason the said vessell and goods were embargode.

Concerning the robbery and taking away of our goods at Hubely by the people of Sevagee Rajahs, in case that he denyes it, you are to answer that wee have certaine advises thereof from our Factors in those parts, but wee have not any certainty of the quantity that was robbed, which wee shall know very suddainly and then acquaint him thereof.

It is necessary that you shall question Sevagee Rajah concerning the Hoy which last yeare was bought from the Mallabars by the Havalder of (illegible), and to endeavour to the utmost to gett an order for the said Havalder to deliver the said Hoy as likewise for some wine that is yett in Alher, for if they delivered the French Hoy, likewise bought from the Mallabar, tis but reason that they should deliver our Hoy, it standing much with our credit to have her delivered.

Likewise I desire you to doe your diligence to conclude and agree with Sevagee Rajah about the 12,000 Pagodes and free customes for seaven yeares, giving him good exemples for it. But if hee will not stand to it, then follow the last remedie, which I order you to make an end for 10,000 Pagodes and free customes for five yeares. And in case he will not allow the said 10,000 Pagodes, then to agree in nine or eight thousand and free customes for four yeares, of all which you are to acquaint me by a letter to Bombay, that I may order what shall be most convenient.

[Endorsed]

Instructions for Naransimay to be observed in his treaty with Sevagee.

Naran Sinay's Letter
(*F. R. Surat*, vol. 88, fols. 78-83)

Honourable Sir,

I arrived at Rairy on Tewsdays of the last weeke which was the 24th March and on the same day I went to Banchar¹ to visitt Naragy Punditt which place is at the mountaines foot, and enquireing for him I encountered with his eldest sonne Parlad Punditt who advised me that his father Naragy Punditt was at the mountaines head and made me waite the Rajah Sevagys order to goe up, upon which I sent one of my servants to give the Rajah notice of my arrivall, who returned the same day with order from Neragy Punditt that I should remaine in his house until the time of mourning was over for the death of the Rajah Sevajeess wife ; which I did resting there five dayes without opperating anything, in the interim came Naragy

¹ Probably Panchad below Raigad.

Punditt to his habitation to celebrate the Jentues New yeares day and the next day carried me up the hill with him and enordered me a good entertainment in a large house where I remained five days more.

Yesterday at noone being the third of April Naragy Punditt accompanied me up to the Rajahs court and brought mee before him who received me with much courtesy, gave me a seat very neare him enquiring of your Honours good health of which I gave him an account and reciprocally returned his complement; at which letting (or setting) I entered on the Rajapore business, and Naragy Punditt according to his accustomed favour in our behalfe demonstrated the matter better then I expected to his master the Rajah on which Savejee presently enordered his scrivans to passe orders concerning this affaire, viz. to pay the Rajapore money at three payments to witt 2,500 Pagotas of the Rajapore customes 2,500 to be paid the first monsoone comensing the first September next, and 5,000 to be paid two yeares space to make which writings and orders 3 or four dayes will be requisite, which being effected I will send them to your Honour by Adall the Moody who is now with me, who arriving in safety to your Honour will acquaint more clearly of all passages here, I intend to have sente Sevagys writtings and orders by this bearer but sceing it would cost some time before they were finished, and your Honour enordering me to send you a daily express is the reason I so suddenly dispatch this man; and the reason I wrote your Honour not before is because Naragy Punditt desired me not to write untill I had spoke with Sevajee for which fault I desire your Honours pardon.

I cannot advise your Honour particularly of what newse here stirring having not sufficient time, but it seems unreasonable I should totally decline it, Sevajee is making a throne very magnificent on which he spends much gould and jewells intending to be crowned in June next being the beginning of the new yeare, to this coronation he has invited many learned Bramines, and will liberally bestow on them many ellephants, horses and money but it is not known whether he will be crowned in person or some other prince for it is reported he hath a prince of the Nisamshahy race in his custody.

By other conveighances Your Honour will have received

newse of the proceedings of Sevajees army nevertheless I cannot be excused without giving you some account ; Bhadur Caun desire to descend into Concan but understanding that the Rajah Sevajee hath stopt the passages by breaking the wayes, and advances twixt the hills, and keeping a constant guard there where the passages were most difficult ; he returned from whence he came.

The Rajah Sevajee intended to proceed for Currall² to give new orders to his army, and to create a new generall of his horse in the roome of Partab Ray³ who fell in the encounter of Sevajees army with Bullooll Ckaun in a narrow passage betwixt two hills who with six horsemen more were slaine being not succoured by the rest of the army so that Bullooll Ckaun remained victorious but Anand Ray his Lieutenant sent Sevajee word that he should not resent his Generalls death he remayning in his stead, on which Sevajee enordered Anand Ray to succeed him in quality and pay ;⁴ and not to return alive without being victorious against his enemys and Anand Ray being a valliant person on his masters order mooved with the whole body of his horse farr into the enemys country in search of Bullooll Ckaun ; but it happened that Dilleel Ckaun understanding of Pratap Ray's death fell in with his army to succour Bullooll Ckaun ; makeing great haste to fight with Anand Ray but he seeing two such valiant enemys before him durst not fight them, and thereupon tooke his way towards Cannara journeying 15 leagues per diem, he before and the two nobles following him but after many days march not dareing to effect any thing Dilleell Ckaun went under Panalla to besiege it but stayed there but five days and returned to his former station, and Bullool Ckaun went to Collapore, Anand Ray passing much inland robbed a city called Pench eight leagues from Bancapore which citty belongs to Bullooll Ckaun jaghere, from whence he returned well laden with 3,000 oxen laden with goods, which

² Kudal, on the Karli, thirteen miles north of Savantvadi.

³ Pratap Rao Gujar, *Sarnobat* of Shivaji's army, was killed when rashly charging Bahlol Khan's army with six companions only at Jesari (or Nivti, according to the Jedhe Chronology) in 1674.

⁴ This statement is far from accurate. On the 8th April, 1674, Shivaji reviewed his troops at Chiplun and Hasaji Mohite was appointed *Sarnobat* with the title of Hambir Rao.

Bullooll Ckaun and Quider Ckaun understanding, they intended to intercept him with their whole army encountring neare Bancapore, where happened a desperate battell, but Anand Ray gott the victory. In said battell fell a brother of Quider Ckaun, cousen of Bullooll Ckauns and, Anand Ray robbed the whole army and brought 500 horse and two ellephants and other things,^{4a} Bullooll Ckaun and Quidher Ckaun flying away; Anand Ray on his return leaving his booty with Sevagee is gone to Bellagatte to robbe more townes.

I have discoursed with Naragy Punditt concerning the peace you desired might be concluded with the Sidy Foote Ckaun he answered with many comparison shewing that Sevagee had no inclination thereunto whereupon I never talkt more about that affaيرة of which Naragy Punditt will himself write you.

I shall give your Honour what I have heard of Siddy Sambole in a few words, he engaged with Daulett Ckauns navy in Satouly River⁵ where there was slaine above one hundred men of the Siddys and 44 of Daulett Ckauns who gaines the victory but is wounded with an arrow and it is reported that Siddy Sambole is likewise wounded, and his hands burnt, he not meeting with good success in the aforesaid river is gone to Haresser⁶ neare Vessing this news Sevajee told me himselfe, now I desire your Honour not to licence the Siddy to enter into your port nor his men to come on shoare for if you should not thinke convenient to refuse him it would cause great difference to arrise betwixt us and Sevagee, for soe much he declared to me at first meeting.

Now I desire your Honour to send Mr. Henry Oxinden imedietely with a good present because I cannot stay long here by reason of the unwholesome waters of the hills. Concerning the present Naragy Punditt enquired of me and I answered him that Mr. Henry Oxinden would bring an Arab horse with him of considerable vallue who desired me to write to your Honour

^{4a} This is corroborated by the Jedhe Chronology which says that Anand Rao fought Kadir Khan and captured two elephants.

⁵ River Muchukundi, which flows by Satavli in the Rajapur sub-division.

⁶ Harihareshwar, in Janjiva, on the north bank of the Savitri or Bankot river.

not to send any because the Rajah had told him he had not occasion of any but that in lieu thereof you would please to send him some precious stones either pearles or diamonds which may be worth his wearing at his coronation wherefore I desire your Honour to send some rings of precious stones or pearles or some chaines of pearles which the Jentues wear on their shashes, because these people thinke that the English cannot want pearles and other jewells being merchants that trade in shipping. Naragy Punditt⁷ enorders me to write to your Honour that if you should send a horse the Rajah would never ride on him but give him some of his servants or souldiers because he hath many horses as well as Arabbs as Turkish which considering your Honour may please to doe as to you it seems best; your Honour hath already wrote to Naragy Punditt that you would send an Englishman of your Council which he hath made known to the Rajah wherefore it is convenient that Mr. Henry Oxinden comes with a considerable present in conformity to his quality which may be about 1,000 or 1,200 Rs. It is also reasonable that you present the Rajah with something at the time of his coronation but this present you now send will serve for all. I likewise advertise your Honour to mind Girderdas to send 25 ordinary thurmas to Naragy Punditt for which he often persecutes me and Girder promised to send them just after my departure; God preserve Your Honour is the prayer of

Riary 4th April 1674

(translated out of the Portuguese original)

Your humble servant

NARAN SINAY

Presents for Shivaji

*F.R. vol. 87, (Surat) Surat to Bombay
the 18th April, 1674, fols. 153 & 154*

Wee are now in answer of yours of the 9th current inclosing us a translate of Narrandas Sinas letter by which wee preceive you are likely to come to a speedy accomodacon with Sevajee on the condicons that you were the last yeare treating about of paying you 10,000 Pagoths in full satisfaction of the Honourable Companys and their servants losses in Rajapore and we may consequently inferr that the Companys late loss at Hubely must

⁷ Niraji Raoji, Shivaji's Chief Justice (Sen, *Studies in Indian History*, pp. 128-132).

be included, your sending Mr. Oxinden on that employ wee hope will make some addition by his procureing us further priviledges for our trade in his country, the present which you desire may be sent with all speed to accompany him, wee have been collecting these two dayes as near as wee cann in such particulars as you desire from us, what is wanting, as the Rubie for the ear jewell, and the Rubie ring of such value which are not at present procurable, wee have supplied with a dagger of a neat worke, which wee thinke may be as acceptable to him as any of the other, the particulars which wee send you are as follows:

	Rutt.		Rups.
2 Pearle weighing	10 1/10	cost	500
4 ditto weighing	14 9/10	cost	750
1 Diamond Ring a rose cutt		cost	450
1 ditto		cost	325
1 ditto a table		cost	130
1 Head Jewell like a feather		cost	680
2 Bracelets		cost	450
			<hr/>
			3285
Insurance		cost	29½
			<hr/>
			3314½

All with particulars wee have [delivered] to Moan Drumdas and Volup Lickmedas sheroffs to send you, which they do by a cossett that accompanyes your cooly the bearer hereof.

That Sevajee is much offended at your favouring the Siddee in permitting his vessells to winter att your island, and hath expresst soe much to Narrandas Sinay wee have reason to believe and you may doe noe less of the other interest here, for when the Governor here or the Kings Generall near you there, shall come to understand (as certainly they will) this your embassy, and conclusion of a peace with the Kings enemy, together with your denyall of their fleett to harbour with you, you must needs conclude that the Mogull will take us for none of his friends, and that wee must be exposed to many injuryes if the Company doe not also suffer in their trade. But you having soe often manifested to us how much the good and well being of the island both for provissions and traffique depends upon an accomodacon with Sevajee together with the trade that

we expect to have by the settlement of factoryes in his country, that wee shall patiently endure what these people may impose on us, rather then declyne the interest and benefitt of the Company in their island.

As Narran Sinay doth give you little hopes of procureing peace between Sevajee and Siddee of Danda Rajapore, soe wee think it not a business soe facile to be effected, for a warr soe many yeares standing, to be suddenly accomodated, thus wee have given answer to your letter and haveing nothing here of newes that offers wee must conclude and subscribe.

P.S.—whereas wee intended to send you a dagger the man that ownes it stands on such high termes for it that we thought it not necessary to buy it at soe extravagant a rate.

O.C. Vol. 35, No. 3963

[Instructions given by us the Governor and Councill for affaires of the Honourable Company on the Island Bombay unto our loving friend Mr. Henry Oxinden to be observed by him in the negotiation of treaty with Seuage Rajah.]

Mr. Henry Oxinden,

The experience you have had of all the affaires of moment and overtures which have occured betwixt Seuage and us relating to this treaty by means of your daily assistance of us in the council where the matter hath been largely debated may excuse the trouble of our further[r] animadversions thereon in this paper, but that we may not be wholly wanting to our duty we thinke good to recomend the foll[ow]ing instructions for your observation.

The former difference between the Honourable Company and Seuag[e] at Rajapore being for the present accomodated by a mutuall agreement and contract between us with the particulars whereof you are thoroughly acquainted, our next worke is to endeavour the establishment of a secure and advantageous course of trade betwixt this Island and the cuntryes under his jurisdiction, which we trust in God may tend very much to our Honourable Masters interest for the better effecting whereof we have thought good to send you to the said Seuages court at the castle of Raire that you may in person treat with him touching the confirmation of those articles which we herewith deliver

unto you and for that the evil custome of theise easterne ports puts the Company to an indispenible necessity of presents in such cases, there being nothing to be done in theise parts of the world without them.

We judge it necessary and prudent in this conjuncture to be som[e] what more free handed then otherwise we should be, and that wee may the better prevaile with him and his ministers of state to gr[a]tifie the Company in theire reasonable demand and to procure the better esteeme and endearment of our nation, and traid amongst them, wherefore at your arrivall when you observe a convenient time you are to present to Seuage, his mother, son &a. those jewells and rarities which are appointed in consultation for them which we hope will be very acceptable seeing as Naran Sinay informe us they are more desiours of such jewells then any other thing we can present them, which therefore will be more proper and necessary in regard Seuage is designing to make himself a king.

In the contract signed by Seuage wherein he promiseth the payment of 10,000 kings Pagothas for satisfaction of the Companys losse sustained at Rajapore, there are somethings mentioned, which are more then we agreed to in our treaty with his Envoy viz. it is to be discounted out of 5,000 Pagoths. That in the first payment of 2,500 Pagoths worth of goods, which we are to buy of him and so consequently in the rest of the payments which was not resolved upon or agreed to positively by us, but rather that we were to receive it in ready money which you are to press him unto but in case he declares he cannot spare ready money, and that he will force goods upon us, you are to be careful that you doe not take any old and unmerchantable goods and that they be not ouerprized, to the end neither the company nor the interested be the losers, thereby, and if you can possibly procure pepper, dungarees, percollas,¹ or any sort of calicoes proper for Europe it will be much the better provided the prices are reasonable, wherein you must regulate yourself according to the list of prices which you will carry along with you and for that we observe Seuage Rajah hath a percoll of old cannekins which he is desirous to dispose of we would have you

¹ Dungaree is a kind of coarse and inferior cotton cloth. Percollas or Percalles were pieces of plain calico. (Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 130.)

to please him, and for formallity sake looke upon them, but not to medle with them except you find the Company will be gainers by them and not losers.

Secondly, in that clause wherein he admits the English libery to setle Factories in any part of his dominions we find that Negotanna and Penn² and the parts lying over against Bombay are not expressly included wherefore we would have you make that one of the articles that we may setle and build warehouses in any of these parts, declaring that it will be a great conveniency to his owne occasions, and a meanes to bring downe traide to that part of the country.

Thirdly, in the last clause he limits the English that they shall buy and sell only inports and not transport any goods in the inland countryes, this you may tell him is a great inconveniency and discouragement to traide; and that which no king or prince ever hitherto imposed upon us, for in all Indostan, Decan, Persia Arabia and the South Sea's and other parts where we traide we have liberty to transport goods paying custome at port only. Wherefore, you might press him by all reasonable argument to make an alteration of that clause, and to grant us the same preuiledg[e] which we enjoy in other parts, otherwise we shall be very much discouraged, and not traide so much as otherwise we shall doe.

Wee reasonably presume that Seuage will be much offended at the Sidyes wintering his fleet in this bay, but when he hath understood what endeauers we have used to turne him out and how roughly we have treated his men, the perticulers whereof you are to manifest unto him, haveing been witness of the transactions here, and when you have represented unto him and made him sensible of the indispenible ingagements that we have in the Mogulls country by meanes of traide and setling of factories in his dominions, we doubt not but he will in his wisdom be fully satisfied of our integrity, and the full desire, we have to keep a good understanding with his, and you may furthe[r] declare that he also hath vessells wintering here as well as they and we could not in reason and prudence deny the Sidy the same kindness, though it be very much against our will and inclination.

²The chief town of a sub-division of the same name in the Kolaba district.

Amongst Seuagees chiefest Ministers of state you must per[ti]cularly apply yourselfe to Naragy Punditt who hath expressed extraordinary kindness and affection to the Companys interest and therefo[re] you are to communicate unto him all our desires and proposalls, before they be presented to Seuagee, that you may take his advise and a approbation, therein, desiring him to interceed and mediate with Seuagee Rajah for the speedy conclusion thereof. You are also to pay all civil respects to his Peshwa or second minister of state Moropunt and likewise to Annagee Punditt with whom we may have frequent occasions or corispondence, so that the nearer intimacy you gaine with him the better.

Seing that the present warr betwixt Seuagee and the Sidy of Dan[da] Rajpore causeth a great obstruction and insecurity to traide w[e] hold it consistent with the Companys intrest and becomeing our duty so farr as in us lyes, to endeauour an accomodation of peace between them, for if they two were friends, the King of India's fleet now sent to assist the said Sidy would be called home and not molest these parts any more, wherefore we desire that when you see a fit oppertunity you [press ?] the matter seriously with Naragee Punditt, representing unto him the advantages of such a peace together with the charges and misery of the warr, and that it is like long to continue at least so long as this King lives, except he makes peace with the Sidy Futty Chaun, which war if continued may prove a greater prejudice to Seuagee then the taking of Danda Rajpo[re] will advantage him, whereunto you may add some other arguments which the President hath in private communicated unto you which we hope will [fol. 2b] preuaile with him as tending to his owne advantage, but if you find him to be auerse to it, you may disist from mouing of it to the Rajah declaring that what the President designs is only the office of a good neighbour and frients to them both, for he desires only to keep peace one with another.

In the agrement made with Seuagees Envoy Bimagee Punditt touching the satisfaction to be paide the Company for their losse at Rajapore in regard Neragee Pundit whom we have before recommended unto you did proue the only mediator to bring Seuagee to fair and good accomodation, we thought good to promise him for his encouragement 500 Pagoths to be paid

him out of the said money, thereby to oblige him the more to doe the Company further service in their traide hereafter, and also we promised to Bimagee Pundit the Envoy for his effectual service therein 100 Pagoths wherefore in case they desire the said money you may confirme our promise ; but endeauour to put it off to the second or third payment, but if they earnestly press to have it made good out of the first, you are not to deny them, for it is necessary for us to keep them our friends.

You are to discource with Naragee Punditt touching the opening of a way for the merchants to convey goods betwixt Ballagatt and the inland mart townes of Decan and Negottanna and the maine over against Bombay, declaring unto him that it will be a great meanes to enrich his country and secure those parts for when our traid is once settled there we shall be better able to assist him in the strengthening these parts against any enemy wherefore we desire you to press him earnestly thereunto for that it will be a notable advantage to his country.

You are also to advise Naragee Punditt that he use his intrest to persuaide Seuagee to encourage all merchants to traide and bring downe goods from the neighbouring parts of Decan to which end it is necessary that he causeth his officers to use them with great kindness in moderate customes and freedom from unjust exactions for nothing doth more advance traid then that and he will find his revenue to encrease more by such a way then hitherto he hath taken.

Wee hope the management of this affaire will not require much time, and for that we know not how emergencies may fall out we cannot limit the time of your stay, but refer it to you for we would not have you return without some good effect of your business which we presume may be completed in one month or 40 dayes at most, but wee desire you to advise us constantly of all passages or receipt whereof we shall give you such further directions as are necessary and so we commit you to the Almightyes protection and remaine

Your Loving Friends

Bombay, May 11th, 1674

Copy instructions for Mr. Henry Oxinden to bee observed in his treaty with Sevagy, 11th May, 1674. No. 4 Received per ship Mary, 30th June, 1675.

[Henry Oxinden from Upper Choule 15th May 1674, Factory Records, Surat, Vol. 88. Fol. 137.]

Wednesday at night arrived at the Portugall Choule, where wee lodged that night at St. Sebastians Church without the citty by reason the gates were shutt up though it was not yet 8 of the clock, the Portugalls being very suspicious of Sevajee, and it was told me by a Portugal gentleman that came to vissitt the Padre of the Church that the Vice Roy had already declared warr against him in Goa, but the truth of it I suspect, thinking [fol. 138] the Portugalls at present not in a capacity to contend with him. Yesterday in the evening arrived to this place, from whence intend to sett forward within this houre staying only to gette a vissitt to this Soobedarr (who is a Braminy of Quality) and dispatch away the Portugall gentleman Your Honour recommended to me ; Sevajee is returned from his progress to Rairy which makes me make the greater hast hence that if possible I might accomplish the treaty with him and returne to kiss your Honours hands ere the raines are sett in, in which and all other commands I shall use by utmost dilligence.

[Henry Oxinden, Rairy Garr, 21st May, 1674. Factory Records, Surat, Vol. 88. Fol. 138-141.]

My last to you was from Choule, since which on the 19th instant wee arrived here to this place from whence to our sorrow I found the Rajah was departed to visit a Pagoda of his St. Bowanys at Parabgurr^{1a} and celebrate some ceremonyes there in order to his coronation having carryed with him a Golden sombrero which he hath dedicated to the use of the said Pagotha ; it is reported he will returne within 2 or 3 days when doubt not of a speedy admission and accomplishment of those affairs recommended to my management, to which end he shall not want solicitation, for we live on such a pott dry place, and baren of all things, that were there no other argument on our side to press him to a speedy conclusion that would sufficiently

^{1a} Pratapgad in the Satara district.

promot us to use all meanes possible for a speedy dispatch. This morning I gave a' vissit to Naragee Punditt (who received us very kindly) and delivered him his Honours letters, shewing him the severall presents intended for the Rajah and ministers of state, of all which hee disliked nothing but prizes, being an experienced person in jewells and having bought many in Gulcundah and Orungabaud, he declared they were all over rated or the company abused by the buyers; I replied they were not over rated but its possible they might be deare bought in regard they were procured in past against the Rajahs coronation, with which he seemed satisfied, and promised to help us to the Rajahs presence as soon as conveniently he can after his returne from Purrah Gurr. I took (according to your Honour &ca. orders) occation to discourse with him concerning the concluding a peace betwixt the Rajah and the Sidy of Danda Rajapore urging those arguments enordered in my instructions and likewise those communicated me in private by his Honour: but all were not prevalent enough to persuade him it was not his masters interest to prosecute that siege so neer a conclusion, for the Rajah without doubt will have Dande either this raines or next Monsoon intending to make a furious assault on it speedily after his coronation, to which effect he hath enordered his best souldiers to get themselves in readyness, and hath already sent 15 pieces Ordinance more to strengthen and renew the battary, he hath offered the Siddy upon delivery of the Castle what Monsup¹ he shall desire, upon refusall whereof he must expect the miserys that attend warr, and so severe an enemy as Sevajee Rajah, who, as Narajee Punditt reports, vallus not the assistance the Mogulls fleete gives him nor the damage it will doe his country in the future, what the Siddy did last yeare was by reason of his absence in Balagatt but he hath so well provided for its defence that he thinks it secure enough, besides they have news that Bauder Ckaun² is very angry with the Siddy and will furnish him with no more money but intends to call him to an account for what already spent, and what service he hath done the king for it, for on his first undertaking warr by sea he promised to conquer the sea coast, and take the castles thereon which he hath not effected.

¹ Mansab.

² Bahadur Khan, foster brother of Aurangzib.

Discoursing further with him concerning the opening the wayes to Ballacatt, and encourageing the merchants to bring downe their goods to the seaports, and carry on their trade which would be to the Rajahs greate profitt, and increase of his incomes, he answered he doubted not but both would be shortly effected, for that that the king of Vizapore, by the Rajahs often incurtions and spoyling of his country, was sencible that a peace with him was far more advantagious than a warr, and therefore had sent severall embassadors to treat with him, and he doubted not but this raines it would be concluded, and yet when the Rajah was crowned he would act more like a king by taking care of his subjects, and endeavouring to advance trade and commerce on which he well knows depends the happinness and flourishing estate of the Prince.

From the Mogulls Army they have no other news then that Dillell Ckaun is already gon to court, to whom they most feared, what there remaynes only Bauder Ckaun against them, whom they vallue not, but intend to beate up his quarters after the raines. Naragee Punditt thinks there is little probability of peace with the Mogull who being oppulent and not knowing what to imploy his souldiers about will always keepe an Army against Sevajee ; but having peace with the king of Deccan he doubts not but to hold him to it, and make his country flourish againe.

I had almost forgot to lett you know that when in discourse I had given Naragee Punditt to understand what had passed betwixt the Siddy and your Honour at Bombay, and the reason of his wintering there, which was contrary to your consent, hee seemed much satisfied therewith and told us if by reason of your friendship with and interest in the Mogulls country you could not deny the Siddys wintering there, the Rajah could expect nor desire anymore but that you would not assist him in anything to his prejudice. This is what hath hitherto happened worthy your Honours &a. notice, so that with due respects I take leave.

[Henry Oxinden's Letter from Rairi 27th May, 1674. Fols. 141-143.]

My last addresses to you were of the 21st present month wherein I gave you an account of what passed untill that time, what hath since suc[c]eeded please to read in the subsequent

lines which I hope you will be the last trouble I shall give you untill my arrivall at Bombay, when you may expect the vervall account of what shall pass hereafter, for I am given to understand from good hands that my business here will have a suddaine period ; The 21st current, the Rajah arrived to this castle from Purtab Gurr, and the next day were received orders to assend into the castle which were accordingly effected, where wee found a house fitted for our reception, which was very welcome to us after having suffered so much heat and incommodiousness at the Foot of the Hill, the next day we applied ourselves to Naragee Punditt desireing him to procure our (a blank) to the Rajah who did all possible he could to attaine it, but the Rajah was, and is still so busie about his coronation and marriage with two other women, that it was yesterday before wee had audience when presented him with those particulars appointed by your Honour &a. for him which he seemed to take kindly, and assured us that wee might now trade securely, and without any apprehension of evill from him, for that the peace was concluded ; I answered that was our intent and, to that intent your Honour &c. had sent me to his court to gett some articles signed and priviledges granted by him, which were no other then what enjoyed in Hindustan, Decan, Persia &a. where wee had a trade, he replied it was very well and referred us to Mora Punditt his Pessua who is to examine the Articles, and gett them sealed, and so tooke his leave, and retired into his house where he is whole days together with his Bramines, and will not heare any business but apply himselfe wholly to his blind Devotion; wee are much beholding to Naragee Punditt for procuring us this vissitt, for had he not interceeded wee might have been this month here without effecting any thing ; This day or to-morrow I intend to vissitt his Pessua &a. Ministers and present them likewise to debate on the Articles which they have delivered them translated in the Moratty Language, against some of which I heare they will acceptt and especially against that wherein its incerted that Bombay money shall goe current in the Rajahs Dominions which will never [be] granted, for after his coronation he intends to set up a mint, and proposes to himselfe great advantages thereby, so that Naragee Punditt declares he will never agree to that, the other is touching our ships being driven on his coast by foule weather

that he should assist us in the recovery of ship and goods, which is quite against the custome and laws of Concan, but whether they will insist much on the last I cannot tell but shall shortly know when I shall not be wanting to advise your Honour. There is a prisoner in this castle by name Sedoo Iassun who formerly resided on Bombay, and was Siddy Sambhole's servant, he solicits me very much to speake to the Rajah for his release declaring himselfe to be an inhabitant of the island and out of the Siddys service, he was taken prisoner goeing over to the maine to by provissions for the island, but your Honour &a. having given me no directions to move anything in his behalfe (although it was knowne in Bombay that he was taken before my departure) I have not thought fitt to stir therein but sent him word I would write to your Honour &a. about it whose order herein shall be obeyed. In my last I omitted to acquaint your Honour &a. that when wee shewed the presents wee brought for the Rajah &a. to Naragee Punditt he tooke a fancie for one of the rings which wee thought good to present him with, and doubt not but he will well deserve it in the future, for if factoryes be settled in the Rajahs Dominions he will be the fittest person to sollicite for the nation in this Rajahs court being one in much esteeme with the Rajah whose Council he follows in most things, these goe by the returne of the Bombay coolyes who brought the chaire of state very opportunly to be presented, it arriving about halfe an houre before wee had admittance and these with the presentacon of due respects are tendred by Hon'ble &a. Your Honours most humble servant.

[*Oxinden's Letter from Rairi, 30th May, 1674. Fols. 145-147.*]

Since my last of the 27th instant per returne of the Cooleys that brought the chaire of state for the Rajah I have received Your Honours of the 23rd present together with the joyfull news of his Majestys Navys success against the Dutch.* * * This morning I sent Naran Sinay to our Procurator Naragee Punditt to know what hath been transacted in our business touching the signing the Articles wee demanded, and the restoring the vessell belonging to our Broach broker taken by Deria Sarung, and now in Carapatan,¹ who very fairely pulled off the reale with which he had so long clouded us with expectation of a suddain

¹ Kharepatan, in the Devgad sub-division of the Ratnagiri district.

dispatch and sent mee word that nothing could be done until the Rajah was crowned, who stopps his eares to all business whatever being busily employed to gett affaires in a readiness (with his Bramanes) against that ceremony, which is to be celebrated about fifteen days hence, after which he will likewise be occupied for some days, so that it will be neare a month ere we shall be dispatcht, he hath granted all whatt we demanded except our moneys goeing current in his country, and the restoring into us what wracks may happen on his coasts. To the first he sayes, if you make your moncy as fine and as weighty as the Mogulls money it shall goe in his country if his people will take it, but he cannot force them, neither will he hinder us being current, which wee have experimented to be true in the time of our being here, for sending our money to change wee find among the pice they bring us abundance of Bombay Pice but no Bugrookes.² To the other they say that should they grant us our wracks the French Dutch and other merchants would demand the same which they cannot grant, being possitively against the lawes and constitutions of their country now and formerly the Nisamshay kingdome, by which they are still governed, they do likewise scruple at our desires to pay custome no where but in Port, but as to that they will insert in the articles that whatever custome wee paid and priviledges we enjoyed at Rajapore in Adell Shas time wee shall retaine still, and not be deprived thereof, which if am not mistaken were large enough, Neragee Punditt advised mee likewise that the Rajah had dispatched me thinkeing I had been gone and left Narrin Sinay to looke after the writings and follow me, declaring that my presence would but little availe, for they were already resolved what to signe, to which noe persuasions could alter, but without your Honours order I shall not stirr hence although I could wish myselfe from this damp and feavourish aire being all day long encompassed with clouds, which continually cover the topp of this Hill, by the bearer you may please to express your minds whom I sent to accompany to Bombay our supernumerary coolys and kept only those that belong to our Pallenkeens and nevertheless wee shall have in all neare 50 persons

² An obsolete Goa coin of low denomination. It was coined at different times in copper, tin, lead and tutenague. (*Hobson Jobson*, pp. 121-122.)

in pay, which is a great charge to the Company whi[le] fewer persons might doe the business ; from Neragy Punditt I received the same news which his Honour writes concerning Dillel Ckauns being called up to court, of Bhadur Cauns following him and the Kings displeasure against the latter, which is the occation of his sending downe Rajah Ramsuing to treat with Sevaje so that now expect a sudden pease with the Mogulls and Adull Shah when the settling of Factorys in the Rajahs country will be secure, and beneficial to the Honble. Company otherwise they will be neither ; Neragy Punditt declares that the Rajah will not recede from the contract he signed about the Rajapore business dissuading me much from moving any alteration therein least he should be displeased but you may receive the appointed quantity of goods yearly at Rajapore ; Cloth they declare they have none, but pepper bettlenutts and coconutts shall be ready there : If your Honour command our stay here wee shall be in want of some refreshments of wine &a. to force us against this noysome foggy aire which pray enorder to be sent us with speed together with an answer to these.

O.C. Vol. 35, No. 3965

[A Journal or Narrative of what occurred in Henry Oxindens Journey to the Castle of Rairy the residence and Court of Seavage Rajah to which place he was enordered to repaire by the Hon'ble Gerald Aungier President of India and the Governor of Bombay and Councill, to conclude the long depending differences betwixt the said Rajah and the Honourable English East India Company and negotiate a firme peace with him.]

1674 May 13th: Having received Instructions from the Honourable President and Councill and got all things in a readiness, in order to my journey I imbarcked in a Bombay Shibar¹ together with Geo: Robinson and Mr. Tho: Michell who were by his Honour appointed to accompany me and about nine of the clock at night arrived at Choule a Portugall city on the maine into which we could not enter, the gates being shut up

¹ Shibar, a half galley (Sen, *Military System of the Marathas*, p. 181).

and watch set, so that we passed this night in the suburbs in a small Church called St. Sebastiano.

The 14th: About three in the afternoon receiving advise that Savage was returned to Rairy from Chiblone,^{1a} departed thence to Upper Chaule, a towne belonging to the Rajah, about two miles distance from the Portugall citty and was in former times a great mart for all sort of Decan comodities but now totally ruined by the late wars betwixt the Mogull and Savage, whose armies have plundered and laid it wast, the Soobedar of this towne being a person of Quallity, who commands the coast opposite to Bombay as Negotan, Pen etca. and I thought good to give him a visit and to present him with a couple of pamirines² and the rather because I understood from Narran Sinay, our Linguist, that he had some aversion to our nation and might some what hinder our proceedings at Court which I was willing to take him of by all faire meanes, he received the visitt kindly and promised all the courtisy that lay in his power to perform; and after some gramatecall discourse we returned to our tent.

The 16th: Tooke boat and sayled up Chaule to a towne called Esthomy some 6 Leagues distance from Chaule, where we stayed till the next day.

The 17th: This day set forth about 6 in the morning from Esthomy and about sunset pitched our tent in a plaine some 6 miles distant from Nishampoore.

The 18th: About 4 o'clock in the morning went from thence and about sun rising came to Nishampoore where we stayed about an hour to refresh the Coolies and then set forwards and at 9 of the clock arrived at Gongouly a little village situated on the bank of a pleasant Rivulet from which in a faire day may be discovered the Castle of Rairy.

The 19th: This day I set forwards for Rairy and about 9 of the clock came to P[a]charra,³ a towne at the Foot of Rairy hill where we understood that Seuage was departed thence to Purtabgur to visit the shrine of Bowany a pagod of greart esteeme with him and cellibrate some cerimonies there in order to his Coronation, having carried with him severall presents and among

^{1a} Chiplun in the Ratnagiri district. 108 miles south-east of Bombay.

² A sort of silk cloth used as a scarf and sometimes as a turban.

³ Panchad, below Raigad.

the rest a Somebreiro of pure Gold weighing above one and a quarter mds. which he hath dedicated to the said Pagods use, understanding here that we could not be admitted into the Castle until Seuagees returne pitched our Tents in the plaine and

the 20th: Esteemeing it necessary in order to our more speedy dispatch to make our business knowne to our Procurator Neragy Pundit went to visit him (Whose reception was very kind). I delivered him his Honours Letters shewing him the severall presents, we brought for the Rajah and Ministers of State of which he highly approved and promised to help to the Rajah's presence as soon as conveniently he could after his return from his pilgrimage to Purtaabgur. In the intrime we must rest s[atis]fied that his endeavors should be totally employed in forwarding Honourable Company's intrest, and procuring us a speedy dispatch, for which haveing rendred him thanks, I presented him with the Articles which we brought for the Rajah to signe translated in the Moratty Language; which he said he would peruse and then give his Judgment of them another time, I then tooke occasion to discourse with him concerning the conclution of a peace betwixt the Rajah and Siddy of Donda-Rajapore urging many arguments to create in him a beliefe it would be for the Rajah['s] advantage; but he would not be persuaided it was for his masters intrest to raise a seige which hath cost him so much blood and treasure especially now he hath such hopes of gaining the place and therefore told me it would be in vaine to move it to the Rajah who was resolved to take in that Castle let it cost him what it will and to that effect was dayly sending downe more Ordnance, ammunion men and money. I replied the President had no other designe in making this motion then that of a good neighbour to them both haveing observed the miseries that each party endured and the General obstruction to traide occasioned by the wars, but since he desired me to dessist mentioning it to the Rajah, I should not trouble him therewith. But what was more consistant with our or his owne intrest which was the encouraging of traide and marchandise in his country and opening the wayes to Ballgatte that merchants might with safety bring downe their goods to the seaports which wo[uld] be much to the Rajahs profit and increase of his Treasury and this

I recommended to his prudence to persuaide the Rajah thereto, who being a soldjer from his infancy its possible minded not such concerns to which he answered that he doubted not but it would be effected in short time, for the king of Vizapore who is owner of those countreys from whence most sort of comodities come being weary of the warr with his master had sent severall Embassadors to conclude a peace with him, which he thought would be made within two or three months and then the wayes would be free and marchants have egress and regress as formerly. That the Rajah would after his coronation act more like a prince by takeing care of his subjects, and endeavoring the advancement of comerce and traide in his Dominions which he could not attend before [fol. 3] being in perpetuall warrs with the king of Vizapore and the Great Mogull. This is the substance of my first discourse with our Procurator Neragy Punditt who seemes to be a man of prudence esteem with his master, so that after a little sitting I tooke my leeve of him, haveing first presented him with a Diamond Ring for which he expressed a likeing and his eldest son a couple of Pamirines and doubt not but they will well deserve it from the Honourable Company if any settlement is made in Seuagees Dominions. After returne to the tent I gave his Honour President an account of my negotiation hetherto together with the news of Court in these parts.

The 21st: This day we continued in the same place under the tent and found it excessive hot and incomodious, but this Evening to our Joy, we understood that the Rajah was returned from Purtaabgur when I solicited Neragy Pundit to procure us leeve, to passe up the Hill into Rairy Castle and

the 22nd: Wee received order to assend up the hill into the Castle; the Rajah haveing enordered us a house there, which we did, leaving Puncharra about 3 of the clock in the afternoon, we arrived at the top of that strong mountain about sunsett, which is fortified by nature more then art being of very difficult access and but one avenue to it, which is guarded by two narrow gates and fortified with a strong high wall and bastions thereto, all the other part of the mountaine is a direct precipice so that its impregnable except the Treachery of some in it betrayes it. On the Mountaine are many strong buildings at the Rajahs court and houses for other Ministers of State to

the number of about 300, it is in lengths about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles and in breadth $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile, but no pleasant trees nor any sort of graine growes thereon; our house was about a mile from the Rajah's pallace into which we retired with no little content.

The 26th: The Rajah by the solicitation of Neragy Punditt gave us audience though busily employed with many other weighty affaires as his coronation marriage &a: I presented him and his son Sombajah Rajah with those perticulers appointed for them by the President and Councill which they seemed to take very kindly and the Rajah assured us that we might now traide securely in all his Dominions without the least apprehension of evill from him, for that the Peace was concluded, I replied that was our intent and to that effect the President &a. had sent me to his Court to procure some Articles signed and privelidges granted by him which were the sace we enjoyed in Hindostan, Persia &a. where we traded, he answered it was well and refering me to Moro Punditt his Pasha or Chancellor to examine the articles and give him an account what they were he and his sonn tooke their leeves and retired into theire private appertments where they are busily imployed with the Bramins in consultations and other ceremonies and will heare of no manner of business untill the coronation be over. Wee likewise departed to our house again when I gave his Honour etca. an account of my transactions hitherto.

The 28th: Went to Neragy Pundits and tooke his advise concerning the presenting the rest of the Ministers of State, who told me that I might goe in person to Moro Pandits, but to the rest I should send what was for them by Narran Synay. Declaring likewise that if I would have [fol. 4] our business speedily effected and without impediment that it was necessary to be at some more charge, to present some officers with Pamirines and who were not mentioned in our list of presents to which I assented considering that the time of the yeare was far spent and that should we be forced to stay the whole Raine at Rairy the Honourable Companys charges would be greater then the additionall presents come to, and therefore desired to know whom they were which we must oblige; he answered that two pamirines were not enough for Moro Punditt that we must present him with four and Datagy Punditt Vokanouice⁴

⁴ Dattaji Pandit Vaknavis.

or publicque 'Inteligencor with a Di[amond] ring thats
vallued at 125 Rps.

The Debir or Persian Escrewan with 4 Pamrs.

Samge Naique keeper of the Seal 4 „

Abagy Pundit 4 „

and then I need not doubt of a speedy conclusion, otherwise they would raise objections and scruples on purpose to impeed our negotiation, for every officer in court expected somethings according to his degree and charge, so that we tooke out pami-rines etca. for them, and went accompaned with Neragy Pundits sone to Moro Pundits with his present who received it very kindly and promised he would press the Rajah to confirm the articles and dispeed us as did all the rest of the ministers unto whom by Neragy Pundits advise I sent Narran Sinay and a servant of my owne.

The 29th: This day the Rajah according to the Hindoo Custome was weighed in Gold and poised about 1,600 Pagodas which money together with one hundred thousand more, is to be distributed after his coronation unto the Bramings who in great numbers are flockt hither from all the adjacent countreys.

The 30th: This day I sent our linguist Narran Sinay to Neragy Punditt to enquire what he had transacted in our business, touching the signing our articles and who returned answere that the Rajah stopt his eares to all affaires whatsoever, and deffered them till his coronation was over, being busily employed with his Bramings to put things in a readiness against that day, which was now at hand, and therefore must have patience till then declaring that the Rajah had granted all our demands, except those two articles wherein it is exprest that our money shall goe current in his Dominions and his on Bombay and that he shall restore whatever wracks shall happen on his coast belonging to the English and inhabitants of Bombay. The first he accounted unnecessary to be inserted in the articles of peace because he forbids not the passing any manner of coyne in his Dominions nor on the otherside can he force his subject to take the [fol. 5] money whereby they shall be loosers, but if our coyne be of as fine an alloy and as weighty as the Mogulls and other Princes he will not prohibit its passing current: to the other articles he says it is against the Laws of Koncan to restore any ships, vessells or goods that are driven

on shore by Tempest, or otherwise and that should hee grant us that privillidge the French, Dutch and other merchants in his country would demand and clame the same right with us which he could not grant without breaking a custome that hath lasted fo many ages, the rest of our desires he most willingly conceded embracing with much satisfaction our friendship promising to himselfe and country much happiness on our settlement and traide. Neragy Punditt did likewise then enform me that he doubted not but to persuaide the Rajah to grant us our wracks because we enjoyed the same privillidge in the Mogulls and kings of Decans Country but the former articles concerning the money we could not expect it and it was enough that the Rajah would not prohibit its passing if made conformable in goodness and weight to other kings coynes, with which I might rest satisfied and that as soon as possible after the Rajah's Corronation, he would get the articles signed and dispatch us, of all which I advised his Honour and by the return of some cooles I sent to Bombay to ease our charges.

JUNE

The 5th: Neragy Punditt sent me word that on the morrow about 7 or 8 in the morning the Rajah Seuage intended to ascend his throne and he would take it kindly if I came to congratulate him therein, that it was necessary to present him with some small thing it being not the custome of theise Easterne parts to appeare before a Prince empty handed, I sent him answere I would according to his advise wait on the Rajah at the Prescribed time.

The 6th: About 7 or 8 of the clock went to court and found the Rajah seated on magnificent Throne, and all his nobles waiting on him in very rich attire, his son Sombagy Rajah, Peshua Moro Pundit and Bramin[s] of great eminency seated on an ascent under the Throne, the rest as well officers of the army as others standing with great respect, I made my obeisance at a distance and Narran Sinay held up the Diamond ring that was to be presented him, he presently tooke notice of us and enordered our coming nearer even to the foot of the Throne where being rested we were desired to retire, which we did not so soon, but that I tooke notice on each side of the throne there hung according to the (Mores manner) on heads of guilded

Lances many emblimes of Government and Dominion, as on the right hand were two great fishes heads of Gould with every large teeth,⁵ on the left hand severall horses tailes,⁶ a paire of Gould Scales on a very rich Lances head equally poysed an embleme of Justice, and as we returned at the Pallace gate there was standing two small Ellephants on each side and two faire horses with Gould bridles and rich furniture, which made us admire which way they brought them up the hill, the passage being so difficult and hazardous.

The 8th: The Rajah was married to a fourth wife without any state or cenemony and doth every day distribute his almes to the Bramings.

9th and 10th: Every day solicited Neragy Punditt to get our articles signed, and dispatch us the raines being set in violently, he returned answee, that he would loose no opportunity, carrying them always about him but that the Rajah was totally taken up in the distribution of his almes to the Bramings.

The 11th: Neragy Panditt sent word, that the Rajah had granted all our Demands and articles excepting only the money passing in his country which he accounted needless and had signed them, that two-morrow the rest of the Ministers of State would signe them and that we might report as soon as we pleased.

The 12th: This day the rest of the Ministers of State signed to the articles and I went to receive them at Neragy Pundits house, where they were delivered me by him, who expressed much kindness for our nation, and promised on all occasions, to negotiate our business at Court with the Rajah, for which haveing rendred him thanks and given a couzen of his a pami-

⁵ *Māhī-o-Marātih*, a very high dignity conferred by the Moghul emperors on their nobles. "*Māhī* (literally, a fish), was made in the figure of a fish, four feet in length, of copper guilt, and it was placed horizontally on the point of spear." (Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 33.)

⁶ The horse-tail standard which formed one of the royal ensigns of the Moghuls, collectively called the *Qūr*. "It is, no doubt, the *Qūr* which Gemelli Careri describes thus: 'Outside the audience tent I saw nine men in red velvet coats embroidered with gold, with wide sleeves and pointed collars hanging down behind, who carried the imperial ensigns displayed at the end of pikes. The man in the middle carried a sun, the two on each side of him had each a gilt hand, the next two carried horse-tails dyed red.'" (Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 31.)

rine for his paines in transcribing the articles and other services I tooke my leave of him and

the 13th: Departed Rairy Castle and the 16th Ditto arrived at Bombay and Delivered his Honour President the articles signed and rattified by Seuage and his Ministers of State which if punctually observed, will be of no small benefit to the Honourable Companys affaires both in this Island Bombay and their Factories which may be settled in Seuage Raja[s] Dominions.

EMBASSY OF SAMUEL AUSTIN

O.C. 4106

[A Narrative of what occurred in Samuell Austins journey to the Castle of Rairy, the Court and residence of Sevagee Rajah, being thither sent by the Honble. Gerald Aungier, &ca. Councill, to demand satisfaction for the damage the Honoble, Company susteyned by his army (consisting of 12,000 horse) at the factory of Dungom, and likewise to obtain his Coles to prevent like injuries.]

AUGUST, 1675

The 24th: Having received my instructions from the Honble. President &ca. Councill and got all things in readiness for the journey, I imbarckt in a Balloone together with Mr. Robert Harbin (who was appointed to accompany mee), and by breake of the ensuing day arrived at Battee, from whence proceeding to Chaul and towards Rairy, I think nothing worthy your trouble of viewing untill I obtained Nejampore, which was on the 2nd September in which place meeting with our most prevalent friend, Pashua Mora Pundit, together with Annajee Pundit, I waited on them, and after their allotted presents delivered, represented unto them, our injuries and demands of satisfaction for the same. To which they could give no result, in respect of their distance from the Rajah, and no otherwise favour us but by writeing to him in our behalves, by reason of their designe for Junea (with an army of 8,000 foote) and suddaine departure from thence.

SEPTEMBER

The 6th: On the 6th of September we gained the high and

difficult top of Rairy hill, which impertially may boast of either, and fortunately had an audience the next day of Sevagee and Sambojee Rajah &ca. principle officers, who being burthened with shame at my complaints, a pollitick slumber incircled his brow, and seemingly hung thereon untill I had finished ; and then he pleaded ignorance to the fact and totally denied the reception of any effect[s] whatsoever, and so desired time for his most serious considerations.

The 15th : After audience had, Perlal Pundet, our procurator was not idle in this Pundet,¹ but with much courage and rigour stirred up the Rajah to give us a speedy an[d] effectuall answere, which could not be obtained untill the 15th of September when at the same place as formerly he expressed his minde in few words, to witt, that in respect he had not account given him by his Generall of any effect[s] taken from us more then some plate (which belonged to Samuell Austen), he thought our demands very unreasonable, and in respect our Factory was not so well fortified as even to oppose the meanest force, he had no reason to satisfy us for that which vagabonds and scouts committed, without order or the knowledge of the Generall. To which I answered, it was done by his Generalls knowledge ; otherwise he would not have carryed me away prisoner as far as he did, and therefore desired his personall appearance to deny it if he could. He tooke no notice of this, but on the contrary assured me I should have no satisfaction. Meeting with so small comfort (after many arguments to move him to more generous compliyanse), I proceeded to request for his Coles for all our factoryes, to which he demurred, and thought convenient to give to none but Suratt &ca. sea port townes. But after a strict debate, he consented to all, and ordered the Secretary in our heareing to dispatch them, which since are arrived to the Honble. President and Councells hands, and question not (finding soe great a difficulty in procuring them) but they will redound much to the Honble. Companys advantage in case such like accedents should happen for the future.

¹ Pralhad Niraji, afterwards Rajaram's Pratinidhi.

KARNATAK EXPEDITION
O.C. 4266

[President Langhorne and Council at Fort St. George to the Company, dated 17th February 1676-1677.]

We are now to acquaint you that Sevagee, grown great and famous by his many conquests and pillagings of the Moghulls and Visapour countrys, is at length come hither with an army of 16 in 20 M. [16 to 20 thousand] horse and severall thousand of foot, raised and raising amongst the woods, being unfortunately called in by the King of Golconda or Maddana to help them to take Chengy, Vealour and Pamangoda,¹ the remainder of the sea part of the Cornatt country as farr as Porto Novo, out of the Visiapours hands, with title of Generalissimo, by which means he has gotten in a manner the possession of this country, the said King having no force to oppose him. We have twice presented him with some rarities of counter poysons, &a., by him desired, to the vallue of pagodos 112 Ind. in order to the begetting a fair correspondence with him now at first, if possible, grounding it upon the introduction of those settlements you have already in his countrys at Rajapore and Carwar, the former whereof was very well taken. Of the latter we have yet no news from our Bramany who attends his motion, but more particularly upon the King of Golcondas Serlaskar² Meirza Mahmud Omin and our loving friend, who has some 1,000 horse and 4,000 foot along with him.

Since when we have the ill news of his pillaging a godown of your merchants at Timmery in the very country of his brother Eccogee, to the vallue of pagodas 200, which doubt he will have much adoe to recover.

Also that he has ordered letters to be wrote to all this part of the country, the sea coast especially, to borrow monys to the amount of pagodas 200 M, 50 M, whereof from Paliacat³ and as much from hence, which not being like to find credit, will serve him for a pretence to play his old pranks, especially now that there begins to arise jealousies between him and Golconda on his keeping Chengy and all that he getts in his

¹ Jinji, Velore

² *Sar-i-Lashkar* or head of the army.

³ Pulicat, in Chingleput district, Madras Presidency, 25 miles north of Madras city. The Dutch built a fort here in 1609.

own hands, and Golconda thereupon stopping the promised payment of pagodas 3,000 per diem unless the siege of Vealour,⁴ yet holding out, and Seer Cawns opposition detain him, and his designs against the Naigues to the southward draw him that way. Meanwhile the monyd men all about the country shift out of the way as fast as they can, he having taken a minute account of all such as he passed by within 2 leagues and 2½ of the place all which affords but a very displeasing prospect. . . .

HENRY GARY ON SHIVAJI

O.C. 4314

[Henry Gary to the Company, dated Bombay 16 January 1677-1678.]

Sevagee Raja carried on by an ambitious desire to be fam'd a mighty conquerour, left Rairi, his strongest hold in the kingdom of Cuncan, at the latter end of the last faire Montzoone, and marched with his Army, consisting of 20,000 horse and 40,000 foote, into Carnateck, where the Telingas have two of the strongest holds in those parts, called Chindi, and Chindawer,⁵ where many merchants are considerable inhabitants; and with a successe as happy as Caesars in Spaine, he came, saw and overcome, and reported soe vast a treasure in gold, diamonds, emeralds, rubies and wrought corall that have strenghtned his armes with very able sinewes to prosecute his further victorious designs. Hee is at present before Banca Pore, two other very strong ghurrs or rocks, which soe soone as he hath taken in (being noe lesse dextrous thereat than Alexander the Great was, for by the agility of his winged men (himselc terming them birds) he tooke in lesse than 8 monthes time from the Mogull, which he had delivered up to his than (*sic.* then) Generall Raja Jessing, 23 inaccessible ones, resolves against Vizapore, the Metropolis of the Kingdome of Deccan propinque to them; and being become master thereof, has vowed to his Pagod never to sheath his sword till he has reached Dilly and shutt up Orangsha in it. Mora Punt, one of his Generalls, hath alsoe of late plundered Trumbeck Nasser and other considerable places within the Mogulls territoryes which hath added much to his treasure.

⁴ Vellore.

⁵ Jinji and Tanjore, called Chandi and Chandawar in Marathi.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

I. [ALL ADIL SHAH II, P. 4.]

How widely Ali Adil Shah II's legitimacy was suspected may be further surmised from the following extract from a letter written by Revington and Raudolph Taylor to the East India Company in December, 1659: "The person that is called king of this country is knowne to bee the bastard of this Queenes husband, and she notwithstanding that, would have the crowne settled on him; but some of the umbraves of this country, knowing him to bee spuriously begotten, will not give him homadge and refuses to goe to Court; and these are Rustum Jemah, Bull. Ckaune (Bahlol Khan), Shawgee (Shāhji Bhonsla), and Sevagy." (Foster, *The English Factories in India 1655-1665*, pp. 249-250) Traver-nier says that Ali Adil Shah was adopted by the Queen while her husband was still alive. "Some years before the death of the King the Queen, as she had no children, adopted a boy upon whom she had bestowed all her affection, and she brought him up, as I have already said, with the greatest care in the doctrines of the sect of Ali." (*Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 148.) Bernier agrees with his compatriot when he says, "The throne is filled by a young man, educated, and adopted as her son, by the Queen, sister of the King of *Golkonda*, who by the by, has been ill requited for her kindness." (*Travels in the Mogul Empire*, p. 197.)

II. [ADIL SHAH'S DISLOYALTY TO THE KING OF BISNAGA, P. 44.]

Manucci also shared Cosme da Guarda's belief that the kingdoms of Bijapur, Golkonda and Ahmadnagar were originally conferred by Ram Raja of Vijayanagar upon three of his slaves. "The kingdom of Bijapur was given by Rām Rājā two hundred years before 1699 to one of his slaves, a Georgian by race, a renegade called Isoff (Yusuf), who was in charge of the royal treasury. For this reason he is depicted with the golden key in his hand. Upon the death of emperor Rām Rājā he crowned himself, and took the title of Sulṭān Yūsuf 'Ādil Shah. . . . The kingdom of Gulkandah was given to another slave of the same race, also a renegade. He had charge of the hawks, falcons, and the royal hunting establishments. For this reason he is painted with a falcon on his hand of the kind called Baram. Upon the death of the emperor (Rām Rājā) he, too, adopted a title, and called himself—*Baram* 'Ali Quṭb Shāh. . . . The kingdom of Daulatābād was given to another of his (Rām Rājā's) slaves, named Nizām Shah, an African or Habshi." (*Storia do Mogor*, 1653-1708, Ed. Irvin, Vol. III, pp. 232-234.) Fryer also was equally misinformed when he wrote, "He (Ramras) nourished Three Slaves that were *Chias Moors*, and advanced them to the principal Employs both of Court and Empire, to wit, *Cutub Caun*, Master of his Hunt; *Nisham Maluke*, his Chief Treasurer; *Abdul Caun*, *Catwal*, or High-Constable; from these offices they rose to be Commanders of the greatest Provinces in the

Realm, with as Absoulte Power and Authority as could be transferred on Subjects, being kings, only wanting the Appellation: Thus were they seated, and by the sequal not minded to be dismounted; wherefore they jointly combined against their supine Master, whilst he too credulously relied on their Fidelity, and outed him and many of his Heathen Nobles." (*A New Account of East India and Persia*, p. 165.)

III. [JAI SINGH AND SHIVAJI, p. 82.]

According to Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad, Shivaji solicited the protection of Jaisingh in the following words: "As Rām Singh is to you so am I. As you will protect him, so should you protect me." (Sen, *Siva Chhatrapati*, p. 56.)

IV. [MILITARY CAMP OF THE MOGHULS, p. 86.]

"Wherever the *Moghul* removes his Camp, the Generals and Officers, as well as private Centinels, still pitch their Tents in the same position and place in respect to his and one another, as they formerly were posted in; so that he who once knows where such a captain had his standing, may readily be directed to it, though he has decamped from the place he left a Hundred Miles. For all are obliged to the same distance, and to the same Station and Quarter in relation to one another, and the Emperor's Tent, in whatever ground they pitch their Tents.

Before the *Mogul* begins to move his Camp, to set out upon a progress, or undertake any small journey; and before any Onrah or Person of note sets forward to Travel, the way they must pass is measured out by line, by a servant appointed for that trouble; and a just account both of the distance and number of miles is brought to them, before the journey is begun, and so exact are they in maintaining this piece of *Indian* State, of measuring the Road, that though they have travell'd that way often, and are sufficiently knowing in all its paths, yet without this Ceremony they are loth to stir." (Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat*, pp. 116-117.)

V. [TRIVABLUR, p. 122.]

Fryer mentions Triblitore near Madras, "At *Triblitore*, four miles *North of Madras*, is a Pagod transcending both in respect of Building and Antiquity. . . . To this Mother-Pagod, at certain seasons of the year, long Pilgrimages are set on foot, at what time there is an innumerable Concourse, whereat some of the visitants count it meritorious to be trod to death under a weighty Chariot of iron made for the carriage of their Deities; and with themselves lay their Wives and Children to undergo the same Self-martyrdom." (*A New Account of East-India and Persia*, pp. 44-45.)

VI. [CAPTURE OF SHAISTA KHAN'S DAUGHTER BY SHIVAJI, p. 137.]

J. L'Escalot seems to have heard a similar account of Shivaji's surprise attack on Shaista Khan's camp as given by Thévenot. In his letter

from Surat he says: He (Shivaji) "comes to the generalls tent, falls in upon them, kills the guard, the generalls sonne, wounds the fathers, whoe hardly escaped, seiseth his daughter and carries her away prisoner." (*The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, p. 158.)

VII. [ECU, p. 195.]

An *écu*, according to Dr. Ball was equal to 60 *sols* or 3 *livres* in French money and 4s. 6d., in English. (Tavernier, *Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 327.) Bernier says that "*Roupie*, the money of the country, (was) worth about thirty *sols*." (*Travels in the Mogul Empire*, p. 455.) Both Ovington and L'Escalot reckoned a Rupee at 2s. 3d. An *écu* was therefore worth 2 Rupees in Shivaji's time. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar apparently thinks that an *écu* was the French equivalent of a Rupee, for in the third edition of his *Shivaji and his Times*, he writes 1,500 Rupees for 1,500 *écus*.

VIII. [SHIVAJI'S ANCESTRY, p. 247-248.]

Valentyne apparently derived his information about Shivaji's ancestry from John Fryer, who says: *Seva-Gi*, derived from an ancient line of *Rajahs*, of the Cast of *Bounceloes*, a Warlike and Active Offspring: His grandfather was a Man in Esteem under *Nisham Shaw*, whose Name was *Vangu Gi Rajah*, his father *Shaw Gi Rajah* was made Commander by the same King of *Juneah Gur*, where, upon that Rock his first Wife brought forth the Obdurate *Seva Gi*, his Eldest Son and *Samba Gi*, his Second; by another Wife he had a Third Son, called *Ekou Gi*." (A *New Account of East India and Persia*, p. 171.)

X. [ETHIOPIAN AMBASSADOR, p. 263.]

Manucci says that the embassy was a fictitious one and the so called ambassador had brought a very poor present for the Emperor of Delhi. (*Storia Do Mogor*, Vol. II, pp. 108-112.) He goes so far as to say that, "To tell the truth this—that is, being plundered by Shivāji—was the best thing that could have happened to secure them a reception at, and favourable dispatch from, the court. On other conditions, seeing the few presents they brought, it would have been exceedingly difficult to obtain a royal audience."

IX. [UTENA, p. 248.]

Utena or Oudena is Udhna, a suburban village near Surat.

XI. [PANT, p. 265.]

"This is evidently the Peint of Thornton, 761, and of the 'Imperial Gazetteer', XI, a petty state in the Nasik district between Bombay and Surat, east of Damān, lying between lat. 20°1', 20°27', and long. 72°58', 73°4', with an area of 730 square miles, the town of Peint is 73 miles south-east by south from Surat, 102 miles north-north-east from Bombay. According to the 'Bombay Gazetteer', XVI, 189 (Nasik), Peint belonged to Puṇwār Rajputs, and not to Kolīs. (Irvine, *Manucci's Storia do Mogor*, Vol. p. 132, footnote.)

INDEX

A

- Abaji Pandit (Abgy Punditt), 312
 Abdul Karim Bahlol Khan, 183
 Abdul Khan, 247
 Abdul Khan (Abdul Caun), Kotwal
 of Ram Raja of Vijayanagar, 319
 Abdulpur, 33, 90, 170
 Abdul Fath Khan, 149(n)
 Abdul Hasan, 189(n), 223(n)
 Abyssina, 250
 Acheen, 225, 242
 Acworth, 170(n)
 Adall the Moody, 291
 Adil Shah (Adull Shah, Adell Sha),
 306, 307
 Afghanistan, 140(n)
 Aghanshani, 116(n)
 Afzal Buruz, 170(n)
 Afzal Khan, 33(n), 36(n), 167-170
 Afzalpur, 33(n), 168(n)
 Agra, 97, 105(n), 138(n), 158(n)
 "A history of the Maratha People",
 41(n), 128(n)
 Ahmad I., 77(n)
 Ahmadabad, 77, 117(n), 184, 248,
 258, 259
 Ahmadnagar, 319
 Ahmad Nizam Shah, 171(n)
 'Aitihisik Povade', 170(n)
 Ajete Khan, 259
 Akbar, 118(n)
 Ambikabai, 128(n)
 Albuquerque, 186(n)
 Ali Adil Shah, I and II, 31(n),
 44(n), 182(n), 319
 Amasy, 267
 Amir Kasim Barid, 171(n)
 Ambrose, 139
 Amanda Rao, Ananda Rao, (Anand
 Roy), 242(n), 292 293(n)
 Ananta Padmanabha, 122(n)
 Anantapur, 232(n)
 Anemonte, 237
 "A new account of East-India and
 Persia", 31(n), 276(n)
 Annaji Pandit (Annagee Punditt)
 281, 299, 315
 Austin, Samuel, Embassy of, 315-
 316
 'Antiquities of Chaul', 50(n)
 Antonio Cattel, 208, 210, 211, 212,
 215, 216, 217
 Antonio de Mello de Castro, 31(n),
 111, 113
 Antonio Galvao de Sa, 49
 Antopio do Porto, a church built by
 288(n)
 Archives Coloniales, Correspondence
 General, 242(n)
 Archivo Ultramarino, 31(n)
 Arcot, 190(n), 192(n), 197(n), 200(n)
 Arelour, 194, 203, 209, 210, 211,
 212, 214, 218, 219, 222, 225, 226,
 229, 231, 234
 Argos, 145
 (The) Army of the Indian Moghuls,
 Irvine, 314(n)
 Asaval, 77(n)
 Assam, 102(n)
 Ashtami (Astomee, Esthomy), a
 town near Chaul, 287(n), 308
 Aungier, Gerald, Governor of Bom-
 bay, 307, 315
 Aurangabad, 102(n), 105, 135, 148,
 302
 Aurangzeb (Orangsha), 54, 127, 139,
 140, 141, 145, 156, 157(n),
 161(n), 177, 180, 202(n), 238,
 247, 248, 250, 251, 252, 253, 257,
 260(n), 318
 Avaldar, 32, 52-54, 217
 "A voyage to the East Indies",
 41(n)

B

- Bacaym, I, 29, 228
 Bahadur Khan (Badour Kam, Bha-
 dur Caun, Bander Ckaun),
 202(n), 292, 302(n), 303, 307
 Bullool Ckaun, (Bull Ckaune),
 189(n), 193(n), 292, 293, 319
 Bahmani Kingdom, 171(n)
 Balaghat (Balagatt, Ballagatt,
 Bellagattee, Ballacatt), 293, 300,
 302, 303
 Balaji Naik Silimbkar, 41(n)
 "Ballads of the Marathas", 170(n)
 Baloulcam, 201, 212, 216, 218, 220,
 223, 224, 226, 229
 Ball, Dr., 321
 Bancapore (Benca Pore), 293, 318
 Banchar, 290(n)
 Banda, 47, 116
 Bangalore, 29(n)
 Bantam, 207

- Baram 'Ali Qutb Shah, 319
 Barcelor, 111
 Barchim, 91
 Bardes, 155(n)
 Baron, 206, 219, 236
 Bassein, 29(n), 117(n), 151(n), 135, 137
 Batavia, 240
 Batty, Battec, 288, 315
 Bednur, 186(n)
 Belgaum, 48(n)
 Belulghan, 36, 38, 39
 Bengal, 156, 179, 242, 260(n)
 Bengorla, 34
 Bernier, 102(n), 139(n), 158(n), 319, 321
 Betle, 126
 Beundy, 117
 Bhaganagar, 239
 Bhandaris, 282
 Bhandaris, 282
 "Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal", 39(n), 162(n), 165(n), 173(n), 175(n)
 Bhats, 266
 Bhatiya, 126(n)
 Bhil, 119
 Bhima Pandit, Bhimaji Pandit (Beema Pundett, Bhamagee Pandett), 287, 288-289, 299
 Bhimji, 29(n), 272
 Bhivandi, 51(n)
 Bhonsla, 247, 266
 Bhawani (Bowany), a goddess, temple of, 170(n), 308
 Bhuvangiripattanam, 205, 207, 209, 210
 Bicholim, 46(n), 47, 116, 185
 Bijapur, 30, 31, 32, 33, 44, 61, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 98, 116, 135, 145, 146, 148, 149, 150, 154, 155, 157, 159, 165, 166, 167, 168(n), 170, 171, 180, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 189(n), 195, 197, 201, 202, 212, 218, 220, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 229, 235, 236, 237, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 247, 273, 274, 276, 303, 310, 317, 318
 Biker, 46(n)
 Biundim, 51-52
 Bombaim, 49
 Bombay, 61(n), 111(n), 117(n), 186(n), 271, 276, 280, 281, 282, 282(n), 283, 286, 288, 289-290, 300, 303, 305, 306, 312, 315, 318, 321
 Bombay Gazetteer, 33(n), 41(n), 46(n), 47(n), 48(n), 50(n), 61(n), 168(n), 258(n), 321
 Boureau, 196(n)
 Brampour, 137
 Broach, 118(n), 138, 259, 262, 305
 Brown, 227(n)
 Bugrooke, an obsolete Goa Coin, 306(n)
 Burhanpur, 161(n)
- C
- Calloone, 282
 Camarabando, 51
 Cambaye, 171, 172, 179, 180
 Cambolim, 111
 Cambridge History of India, 44(n)
 Canara, Cannara (Karana) 111, 116, 126(n), 292
 Candahar, 140
 Cannabis Indica, 252(n)
 Canolour, 32, 33
 Capuchin, 138, 152, 216
 Caranja, 41
 Caron, 159(n), 160, 161
 Carre, 156(n), 168(n), 171(n), 174(n) 178, 181, 182(n), 183(n)
 'Caste and Tribes of South India', 231(n), 232(n)
 Cavado, 42
 Ceasar Frederike, 76(n)
 Ceylon, 122(n), 227(n), 265
 Chardagora, 33
 Chandra Rao More, 41(n)
 Chandraya Drug, 190(n)
 Chaul (Choul, Choule, Chaoul, Choull), 34, 41, 49, 50, 111(n), 137, 172, 178, 287, 288, 301, 307, 308, 315
 Chaul-de Cima, 178(n)
 Chauthia, 118, 119, 174(n)
 Chidambaram, 205(n)
 Child, John, 273, 276
 China, 228(n)
 Chiplun (Chiblone), in the Ratnagiri district, 308(n)
 Chircam, 189, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 217, 218, 219, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 234, 237, 239, 240, 241, 242
 Chirute-palli, 227(n)
 Chitnis Bakhar, 242(n)
 Chokkanatha, 193(n)
 Clant, 262
 Clive, 215(n)
 Codrington, 91(n)
 Coenredt Roermond, 259
 Colbert, 160(n)
 Coleroon, 212, 214, 220
 Colleries, 215(n)

Concao, Concan, Cuncan. (Konan),
32, 36, 46, 104, 116, 117(n), 305,
312, 318
Condael, 267
Conde da Ericeira, 116(n)
Congimedu, 198(n)
Congimere, 198
Cooluck, 282
Coondapoor, 111(n)
Corapulur, 33, 90
Coromandel, 212(n)
Cosme da Guarda, 319
Cotton, 214(n)
Convourcotta, 241, 242
Cruzado, 44, 49, 53
Cubatghan, 53, 54, 55, 59, 61
Cuddalore, 192(n), 194
Curale, Currall (Kudal), 34(n),
292(n)
Cuttanees, some kind of piece piece-
goods, 286(n)

D

Dabul, 32, 34
Dabull Lawres, 274
Dahanu, 117(n)
Dalle Subedar Chan, 262
Dalgado, 40(n)
Daman, 118(n), 175, 176, 177, 184,
321
Damao, 118
Danda, 34, 117
Danda-Rajpuri (Danda Raspoory,
Danda Rayapuri, Danda Raj-
pore), 117(n), 282, 299, 302, 309
Danvers, 50(n), 116(n)
Dara, 77, 140(n)
Dattaji Pandit Vaknawis (Datagy
Punditt Vokanonice), 311(n)
Daud Pandit, 213(n)
Daulat Khan (Daulett Ckaun), 293
Daulatabad, 319
Day Francis, 273
Decaes, 46
Deccan, 32(n), 41(n), 53(n), 55, 74,
80, 101(n), 109, 119(n), 145, 147,
148, 155, 159, 161, 171, 177,
202, 203, 218, 238, 243, 248
Delalcam, 220, 223, 233, 240
Delhi (Dilly), 54, 67, 105, 108, 109,
113, 117(n), 250, 263, 318
De la Haye, 160(n), 181(n)
Denmark, 207
Desai, 46(n)
Dharmaji Nagnatha, 47(n)
Dharampur, 118(n), 174(n)
Dharwar, 279(n)
"Diccionairo da Lingua Portugueza
e Ingleza", 42(n)

"Dictionnaire Universal Encyclo-
pedique", 195(n)
Diler Khan (Dilalghan, Dilleel
Ckaun, Dillell Ckaun, Dilel Khan),
properly Jalal Khan Daudzai,
102(n), 104, 106, 156(n), 292,
303, 307
Diniz de Mello, 111
Dipabai, 128(n)
Dom Affonso Mendes, 96
Dom Manoel de Menezes, 29
Dom Rodrigo de Lima, 96(n)
Donquery, 165, 167
Dungaree, a kind of coarse Cotton,
cloth, 297(n)
Duracandas Vorax, 76
Dungom, factory of, 315

E

Ebionites, 95(n)
Ecu, an obsolete French coin,
195(n) 211, 216, 218, 226, 228,
240, 242
See Additional Notes, 321
Edell Shaw, 274, 276
Egerton, 91(n)
Ekoji (Eccogee, Ekou Gi), 29(n), 196,
197, 213, 214, 217, 219, 221, 222,
229, 234, 239, 240, 241, 242, 247,
317, 321
Elliot and Dowson, 39(n), 101(n)
Emir Jumla, 156
Encyclopaedia Britannica, 227(n)
Encyclopaedia of Religion and
Ethics, 95(n), 96(n)
England, 207, 263
'English Factories in India' Foster,
49(n), 319
Epiphanius, 95(n)
Escudo, 44(n)
Ethiopea, 263
Europe, 56, 106, 112, 206, 207

F

Fariya-y-Sousa, 228(n)
Fate Jang, 77(n)
Fattaullah Imad Shah, 171(n)
Fausadar, 106, 110, 114, 115, 116
Fingurla, 47(n)
Fitch, 76(n)
Fortune, 264
Foster, William, 33(n), 49(n), 319
Fragoso, 29(n)
Fra Paolino, 243(n)
Francis, 159(n), 231(n)
French East India Company,
160(n), 179
From Akbar to Aurangzeb More-
land; 297(n)

Fryer, author of *A New Account of East India and Persia*, 31(n), 48(n), 158(n), 186(n), 274(n), 276(n), 320, 321
 Fulad Khan, 106(n)

G

Gadag, 61(n)
 Galiana, 51, 74, 117
 Gallevat, 264
 Gandivie, 258
 Gangavati, 126(n)
 Ganges, 128, 129, 179
 Ganoji Raje Shirke Malckar, Gary, Henry, on Shivaji, 317, 318
 Gazetteer of the Tanjore Dist., 122(n)
 Gerson da Cunha, 50(n)
 Geragee Rajah, 283
 Ghias-ud-din, 372
 Ghorpades, 247(n)
 Girgelin, 240
 Glossario Luso Asiatico, 40(n)
 Goa, 29, 34, 46, 47, 96, 112, 116, 155, 178, 185, 194, 266(n), 279(n), 284, 301
 Golconda, 44, 80, 145, 146, 154, 155, 156, 181(n), 182, 185, 186, 189, 190, 191, 195, 196, 197, 198, 201, 202, 203, 206, 210, 211, 220, 220(n), 221, 223, 224, 226, 230, 232, 236, 237, 238, 239(n), 240, 242, 253, 302, 317, 319
 Gongouly, 308
 Gopalpandit, 233, 234
 Goudelour, 200, 208, 224
 Gray, 278
 Grose, 41(n)
 Guarda, 44(n), 74(n), 122(n), 123(n), 128(n)
 Gujrat, 138(n), 171, 172, 175(n)
 Guner, 61
 Gunvanta Bai, 128(n)
 Gustavus Adolphus, 145

H

Haarlem, 258
 Habshi, 319
 Haibat Rao, 41(n)
 Haidar, 186(n)
 Hambir Rao, title of Hasaji Mohite, Sarnobat of Shivaji's army, 292(n)
 Handole, 284
 Harbin, Robert, 315
 Harihareshwar (Haresser), 293(n)
 Harji Raje Mahadik, 128(n)
 Hastings, 95(n), 96(n)
 Heber, 87(n)
 Henry III, 195(n)

Henry Regington, 49(n)
 Herpin, 198(n)
 Hiroji Farzand, 29(n)
 Historical Miscellany, 39(n), 162(n), 165(n), 173(n)
 History of Aurangzeb, 220(n), 223(n)
 History of India, 39(n), 101(n)
 History of French India, 182(n)
 History of the Nayaks of Madura, 193(n)
 Hobson Jobson, 40(n), 53(n), 76(n), 103(n), 119(n), 123(n), 137(n), 190(n), 207(n), 209(n), 211(n), 213(n), 214(n), 227(n), 228(n), 252(n), 258(n), 285(n), 286(n), 306(n)
 Hubli (Hubely), city of, factory of, 279, 280, 282, 284, 285, 289, 294

I

Iban Batuta, 40(n)
 Ibrahim, 33(n), 192, 193, 194, 208, 209, 218, 222, 225
 Idalcao, 29, 32, 34, 36, 40, 46, 49, 50, 80, 83, 84, 88
 Igreja de Nossa Senhora de Mar, a church built by Antonio do Porto, 288(n)
 Imperial Gazetteer of India, 118(n), 119(n), 122(n), 186(n), 190(n), 321
 Inayet Khan, 257
 India, 31(n), 32(n), 44(n), 76(n), 111, 112, 113, 122, 203, 218, 221, 227(n), 233
 Indian Antiquary, 321
 Indian Historical Records Commission, 214(n)
 Indus, 179
 Industan, 50, 60, 65, 69, 149
 Ingil, 115(n)
 Irvine, 53(n), 56(n), 86(n), 87(n), 91(n), 102(n), 231(n), 314(n), 319
 Italy, 46.

J

Jagarnate, 123
 Jagannath Pandit, 214
 Jai Singh (Jossinga, Jessing), 53(n), 77, 114-116, 127, 156, 161, 177, 318, 320
 Janardan Narayan Hanmante, 198
 Janardan Pandit, 213(n), 219
 Janjira, 41(n), 117(n)
 Jaswant Singh (Jassomptissings), 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 74, 77
 Jawhar 117(n), 174(n), 277
 Jayaba, 117(n)

Jedhe Chronology, 41(n), 61(n),
68(n), 135(n), 139(n), 141(n),
174(n)
Jesuits, 39(n), 96(n)
Jesus Christ, 95, 95(n), 96(n)
Jew, 93, 95(n)
Jinji (Gingy, Chengy, Chindi—Mar.
Chandi), 29(n), 128(n), 135(n),
189, 190, 191, 192, 194, 195, 196,
196(n), 197, 198, 199, 200(n),
204, 206, 210, 211, 213, 213(n),
214, 218, 225, 233, 242(n),
317(n), 318(n)
Judice Biker, 174(n)
Julius Caesar, 155
Junnar (Juner, Jemeach, Juneah,
Juneah Gur), 29(n), 52-54, 55,
247, 278, 321

K

Kadir Khan (Quider Ckaun, Quidher
Ckaun), 293
Kaepelin, 160(n), 182(n), 189(n),
196(n)
Kafir, 197
Kakaji Pant, 214(n)
Kali, 199(n)
Kallar, 214(n)
Kalyan, 51(n)
Kambar, 200(n)
Kamalajabai, 128(n)
Kanara, 111(n), 185(n)
Karnatak (Carnate, Carnateck),
39(n), 121, 123, 179(n), 189, 190,
191, 197, 221
Karnatak Expedition, 317-318
"Karwānsarai", 264, 265
Karwar (Carwar), 111(n), 317
Kashghar, 264
Kashi Bai, 127(n)
Kashi Pant, 141(n)
Kaveri, 212(n), 227(n)
Kesar Singh, 101(n)
Keshav Naik, 46(n)
Keshav Prabhu, 46(n)
Khafi Khan, 39(n), 101(n)
Khan Khanan, 189(n)
Khawas Khan (Cavescan), 183,
189(n)
Khwaja Murad, 250
Kincaid and Parasnis, 41(n), 128(n)
Kirat Singh, 101(n), 161(n)
Kistena, 263
Kistnagiri, 190(n)
Kistnagiri, 190(n)
Kolhapur, 125(n), 247(n)
Kolhar, 29(n)
Koli (Colle), 117, 118, 119, 321
Kolidam, 212(n)
Kondana, 135(n)

Konher Pant, 214(n)
Krishnaji Pant, 141(n)
Kulburga, 220(n)
Kunimedu, 198(n)
Kunwarji (Conhorgy), 101, 102

L

La Compagnie des Indes Orientales,
160(n), 182(n), 196(n)
Lacomosanto, 46, 47, 112, 116
Lakham, Savant, 46(n), 155(n)
Lakshmeshwar, 61(n)
Lakshmibai, 128(n)
Lal Mahal, 68(n)
Lamgão, 46(n)
Langhorne, President, Council at
Fort St. George, 317
Larin, 76
Larouse, 195(n)
Lawrence, 215(n)
"Lembranca das Cousas da India,
76(n)
L'Escalot, J., 321
"Le Stat General . . .", 208(n),
213(n), 252(n)
Lille, 96(n)
Lisbon, 31(n), 96(n), 160(n)
Louis XVI, 195(n)
Leerdam, 257, 258, 259, 261, 262

M

Maccaser 259, 260, 261
Madena, 189, 190, 197, 207, 226,
230
Madras, 121(n), 122(n), 181(n),
190(n), 194, 196, 199(n), 206,
207, 211, 227(n)
Madura, 29, 122(n), 190, 193, 199,
222, 227, 229
Mafoma, 94, 95, 96
Maharashtra, 179(n)
Maha Ragam Reptissing, 91
Mahi-o-Maratib, 314(n)
Mailapur, 170(n)
Maiousour, 199
Makaji Ananda Rao, 29(n)
Malabar, 172, 185
Maldiva Isles, 76(n)
Malhar Ramrao Chitnis, 242(n)
Malleon, 182(n)
Malkhed, 220(n)
Malwa, 119(n)
Malwares, 111
Mamet Cawn, 267
Manilla, 196(n)
Manoli, 48(n)
Manorem, 47
Mansab (Monsup), 302(n)
Manucci, 67(n), 86(n), 102(n),
158(n), 161(n), 231(n), 319, 321,

- Manzel, 57
 Maraste, 29, 32
 Marathi Riyasat, 29(n), 128(n)
 Maravas, 231, 234, 239, 240, 241, 242
 Marmugao, 112
 Marwar, 67(n)
 Martin, 196(n), 214(n)
 Mary, 95(n)
 Masulipatam, 196, 198, 237, 240
 Mecca, 228(n)
 Memoires Sur la Campagnie, 213(n)
 Mergen, 116
 Messene, 145
 Michell, Tho., belonging to the Embassy of Oxinden, 307
 Military System of the Marathas, Sen, 87(n), 112(n), 118(n), 174(n), 264(n), 307(n)
 Mir Jumla, 102(n), 238, 260(n)
 Mir Manzel, 56(n), 57, 85, 86
 Mir Tuzak, 55(n)
 Mirza Muhammad Amin (Meirza Mahmud Omin), 317
 Mirzan, 116(n), 165(n)
 Moan Drumdas, 295
 Moors, 31, 38, 39, 229
 Molesworth, 40(n)
 Morattoes, 41(n)
 Morawa, 215(n)
 More de Chaoul, 235
 Moreland, 297(n)
 Mores, 237
 More Trimbak Pingle, 141(n)
 Moropant (Moropunt, Mora Pundit), 174(n), 299, 304, 311, 312, 313, 315, 318
 Mosaic, 95(n)
 Mouros, 32, 37, 50, 56, 65, 67, 68, 73, 83, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 114, 120
 Muchukundi, a river, 293(n)
 Mudhol, 247(n)
 Mughal Military Camp, 86, 320
 Muhammad, 94(n) 114
 Mulatto, 31, 33
 Mumba, 49(n)
 Mumbai, 49(n)
 Musawi (Mocaso), 115(n)
 Muscott, 280
 Mustafa Khan, 135(n)
 Musukunda, 122(n)
 Muttra, 141(n)
 Mysore, 193(n), 222
- N
- Narayan Shenvi (Naran Sinay, Narran Sinay, Narrandas Sina, Narrin Sinay, Naransimay, Nara Simay), 288, 290, 294, 296, 297, 305, 306, 308, 311, 312, 313
 Nabobo, 89, 103, 106
 Nagothna (Negutttna, Negotanna, Negottanna, Negotan), 282(n), 283, 298, 300, 308
 Nanibai, 128(n)
 Nanking, 228(n)
 Naransimay, 272, 274
 Narmada, 138(n)
 Naroa, 46(n)
 "Narrative of a journey", 87(n)
 Narsinga, 44(n)
 Nasik, 319
 Nasir Mahamad (Nasir Mamet), 189(n), 191, 195, 196, 197, 198
 Nayaks, 29(n), 190(n), 193(n), 199, 210, 211, 215, 218, 226, 227, 229, 231, 234, 239, 240, 241, 242
 Nazarene, 95
 Necerapur (Nauruspur), 33, 90
 Negapatam, 122(n)
 Negotam, 278
 Neotagy, 29, 30, 37, 60, 62, 63, 68, 69, 70, 82, 105, 106, 109, 113, 122, 126, 129, 130
 (A) New Account of East India and Persia, Fryer, 31(n), 320, 321
 Nicholas Colosta, 152(n), 249, 260
 Niccols, Thomas, Embassy of, 278-288
 Niraji Raoji, Niraji Pandit (Neragy Pundit, Naragy Pundit, Neragee Pundit, Naragee Punditt) Shivaji's Chief Justice, 290, 291, 293, 294, 299 300-307, 309, 310-312, 313, 314
 Nizam 105(n)
 Nizampur (Nigeampoor, Nejam-pore, Nishampoore) 287(n), 308, 315.
 Nizam Shah (Nisham Shaw), 247, 319, 321
 Nizam Shahi (Nisamshay) Kingdom, 306
- O
- Oner (Honavar), 111
 Orissa, 123(n)
 Orme, 193(n), 198(n)
 Oudena, 259
 Ovington, author of A Voyage to Surat, 320
 Oxenden, George, 258
 Oxinden, Henry, Embassy of, 34(n), 41(n), 288-315
- P
- Pagoda (Pagode, Pagotha, Pagota, Pagotho, Pagoth, a wellknown

- coin generally of gold, long current in South India, 49, 53, 76, 80, 166, 208, 209, 210, 216, 221, 225, 228(n), 235, 266-267, 273-275, 276, 290, 291, 297, 317, 318
- Pagoda, Asmeloh (Asmolah Pagotho), 276(n)
- Pagoda, Tipkee, equal to 4 rupees, 274(n), 276(n)
- Pagoda, Sungar, 276(n)
- Pagoda (Pogod), an idol temple, an idol, 301
- Palamcotta, 192, 194, 211
- Pallava, 200(n)
- Pamangoda, 317
- Pamban, 122(n)
- Pamirine, a sort of silk cloth, 308
- Pan (Pawne), offering of, to visitors, 285, 286
- Panchad (Pancharra, Pucharra), 308(n), 310
- Pardao, 44
- Parangue, 111, 112
- Paupera, 117(n)
- Pawnoosa, 282
- Peloponnesus, 145
- Peint (Pant), 265, 319
- Pen, Penn, 282(n), 298(n), 308
- Pench, 292
- Percollas (or Percalles), pieces of plain calico, 297(n)
- Perambalur, 193(n)
- Permain, 193
- Pernem, 46(n)
- Persia, 126, 157, 263
- Persian Gulf, 76(n)
- Peshwa (Pessua, Pasha), 50(n), 119(n), 141(n), 299, 304, 311
- Philip Gyffard, 49(n)
- Pilaji (Pillagee), 271, 279, 281, 283, 284, 286
- Pissurlencar, 29(n), 46(n), 47(n), 96(n), 155(n)
- Pliny, 186(n)
- Ponda, 46(n), 47, 116, 267
- Pondichery, 191, 192, 194, 196, 196(n), 198(n), 199, 200, 201, 203, 204, 205, 206, 208, 209, 210, 212, 213, 219, 220, 221, 225, 228, 233, 234, 235, 236, 241, 243
- Poona, 61(n), 64
- Porto Novo, 192(n), 196(n), 205, 210, 211, 216, 226, 233, 234, 317.
- Portugal, 42(n), 96(n), 278
- Portugueses e Maratas, 46(n), 47(n), 155(n)
- Portuguese in India, 50(n)
- Pralhad Niraji, Pralhad Pandit
- Pralhad Niraji, Praihad Pandit 219, 316(n)
- Pratapgad (Purtubgur, Purtab Gurr, Pertab gnur, Parabgurr, Purrab Gurr), 170(n), 301(n), 302, 304, 308, 309, 310
- Pratap Rao (Partab Ray), Sarnobat of Shivaji's army, 292(n)
- Pratapji, 29(n)
- Predestinatus, 95(n)
- Ptolemy, 212(n)
- Pulicat (Paliacat), 317(n)
- Puner, 53(n)
- Punwar Rajputs, 321
- Purandar, 51(n), 53, 58, 59, 60, 62, 66, 74, 78, 80, 82, 156(n)
- Puri, 123(n)
- Putla Bai, 127(n)
- Pythagorous, 52, 151
- Q
- Qubad Khan (see Cubatghan)
- Queissoa Naraque, 46, 47
- Queisoaporuum, 46, 47
- Quli Quthb Shah, 171(n)
- Qur, 314(n)
- Quran, 115(n)
- Quthb Khan (Cutub Caun), 319
- R
- Raghunath Narayan Hanmante, 198(n), 219, 235
- Raigad (Rayaguer), 41(n), 45, 46, 49, 50, 53, 54, 59, 116, 121, 124, 127, 141(n)
- Rajapur (Rajapore), 32(n), 33(n), 48, 49, 179, 196, 199, 206, 243, 259, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 279, 280, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 288, 291, 294, 296, 297, 299, 306, 307, 317
- Rajaram, 128(n), 192(n), 198(n)
- Rajasinha, 200(n)
- Rajasthan, 161(n)
- Rajery, 282, 287
- Rajgiri, 190(n)
- Rajpuri, 117(n)
- Rajputs (Rayaputa), 71, 77, 91, 127
- Ralph Fitch, 76(n)
- Rama, 82, 104, 105, 107, 121, 122, 123, 126, 130, 193(n)
- Ramagy, 65
- Ramancor, 121, 123
- Ramayana, 82(n)
- Rameswaram, 122(n), 123(n)
- Ramnad, 231(n)
- Ramnagar, 118(n), 174(n), 277
- Ram Raja, of Vijayanagar, 319
- Ram Singh, 101(n), 177(n), 307, 320
- Randolph Taylor, 49(n)
- Ratnagiri, 41(n), 48(n), 126(n)
- Raulosinay, 46, 47

Ravana, 122(n)
 Rayri (Rairy, Rairi, Raire), 41(n),
 266, 290, 294, 296, 301, 303, 305,
 307, 308, 310, 311, 315, 318
 Rei, 44, 76(n)
 Reickloff Van Goens, 279
 Relation on Journal d'un voyage
 fait aux Indes Orientales, 138(n)
 Revington, Henry, 274
 Richard Taylor, 49(n)
 Robinson, Geo., belonging to the
 Embassy of Henry Oxinden, 307
 Roha, 282(n)
 Romton Jamain, 165, 166, 167
 Rustamusaman (Rustam-i-Zaman),
 33, 39
 Rustome Jemah, Rustum Jemah,
 274, 276, 319
 Ryalls, 274

S

Sabarmati, 77(n)
 Sabhasad, Krishnaji Anant; Sabha-
 sad Bakhar, 29(n), 39(n), 41(n).
 106(n), 158(n), 189(n), 197(n).
 214(n), 320
 Sadasivaraya, 44(n)
 Safavi, 140(n)
 Saguna Bai, 128(n)
 Sahyadri's, 41(n)
 Sai Bai, 127(n)
 Sakwar Bai, 127(n)
 Salloe, a soft cotton stuff, 286(n)
 Sambhaji (Sombajah, Sambagy.
 Samha Gi), 125, 126, 128(n),
 141(n), 170(n), 198(n), 240, 247,
 253, 267, 283, 311, 313, 316, 321
 Samgee 282, 284, 286, 287
 Samugarh, 77(n)
 Sarasgad, 282(n)
 Sardesai, 29(n), 128(n)
 Sar-i-Lashkar (Serlaskar), head of the
 army, 317(n)
 Sarswat, 46(n)
 Saswad, 53(n)
 Satavli, 293(n)
 Sathyanatha Aiyar, 193(n)
 Sauson, 138(n)
 Sawants, 247(n)
 Savantvadi, 46(n), 126(n)
 Sebastiao Nunes Olares, 112(n)
 Sedisour, 191
 Sedy Saibo, 93
 Sen, S. N., 29(n), 39(n), 87(n),
 106(n), 112(n), 118(n), 170(n),
 189(n), 197(n), 214(n), 239(n),
 264(n), 320
 Seer Cawn (see Sher Khan Lodi),
 318
 Setupati, 231(n)

Shamji Naik (Samge Naique), 312
 Shaista Khan, 50, 54, 56, 61, 62-
 71, 72, 74, 75, 77, 80, 135, 136,
 137, 140, 146, 149, 150, 152, 154,
 156, 157, 158, 320
 Shaista Khan's daughter, capture
 of, by Shavaji, 136, 320
 Shah Abbas, 157(n)
 Shahaji (Sagy, Shaw Gi) 29, 29(n),
 135(n), 213, 222(n), 247, 319,
 321
 Shahanav Kalmi Bakhar, 214(n).
 242(n)
 Shah Jahan, 238, 260(n)
 Shahjahanpur, 102(n)
 Shah Suja, 249, 260
 Shaligram, 170(n)
 Shantagi, 29(n), 122
 Shedgavkar Bakhar, 128(n)
 Sher Khan Lodi, 189(n), 196(n)
 Shibar, a half galley, 307(n)
 Shirke, 128(n)
 Shiva Bharat, 61(n)
 Shiva Ganga, 231(n)
 Shivaji (Sivagy, Sevagee, Seu-
 age), 29-52, 53, 54, 57-59, 60-61,
 62-67, 68, 69, 70, 72-77, 77-82,
 98-102, 104-107, 108-130, 135-
 141, 145, 146-161, 162, 165-172,
 173, 174, 175-181, 182-186, 190-
 191, 192-200, 201-207, 208-209,
 210-211, 212, 213, 214-217, 218,
 219-223, 224-226, 227, 229-231,
 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 240-
 241, 242-243, 247, 248-253, 257,
 258, 259-265, 271-273, 274, 276,
 277, 278, 279, 281, 282-284, 286,
 287, 288, 289-293, 295-299, 300-
 301, 308, 309, 313, 315, 316, 317,
 318, 319, 320, 321
 Shivaji's ancestry, 247
 see Addl. Notes, 321
 Shivaji and his Times, Sarkar, 53(n),
 58(n), 153(n), 321
 Shivner, 29(n)
 Sholapur (Sulapoor), 61, 92, 93, 97,
 98, 101, 105
 Siddi (Sidi, Sedi, Sidy, Siddy,
 Sidye), 33, 34, 41(n), 117, 280,
 286, 293, 296, 298, 299, 302, 303,
 305, 309
 Siddi Fathe Khan (Sidy Foot
 Ckaun, Fatty Chaun), 293, 299
 Siddi Jauhar, 49(n)
 Siddi Masaud, 193(n), 302, 223
 Siddw Samhole, 282, 293, 305
 Siddhi (Seddoo) Iassun, 305
 Sieur Clement, 243
 Sieur Deltor, 201, 242
 Sieur Destremana, 201, 223, 230
 Sieur de Jager, 221

- Sieur Germain, 208, 210, 211, 212,
215, 216, 217, 237, 239-242
Sikandar Shah, 182(n)
Sinhagad, 135(n)
Sirapalli, 227(n)
Sita, 122(n)
Siva, 29, 122(n), 123(n)
Siva-Chatrapati, 29(n), 39(n),
106(n), 170(n), 189(n), 197(n),
214(n), 239(n), 320
Sivappa Naik, 186(n)
Sivraj, 267
Som Savant, 46(n)
Songad, 49(n)
Soyera Bai, 128(n)
Sparta, 145
Srinivasachari, 192(n), 198(n),
199(n), 200(n), 205(n)
Stephen Ustic, 271, 273, 277
St David, 19(n), 193(n)
St. George, Fort, 317
St. Louis, 195(n)
Storia do Moqr, 67(n), 102(n),
158(n), 161(n), 231(n), 319, 321
St. Paul, 95(n)
St. Thomas, 17, 181, 182, 185-186,
196(n), 198
Studies in Indian History, Sen,
294(n)
Suasy, 266, 267
Subahdar (Soolharr), 301
Sulaiman Shukr, 102(n)
Sultan Mahmud, 238
Sumatra, 225(n)
Sundarji, 271
Sungar Pagod, 2(n)
Sungaree, 276(n)
Surat, 29, 49(n), 74, 76, 97, 99,
108, 110, 117, 119, 137-140, 141,
145, 151, 153, 159, 160,
161, 162, 171, 172, 184, 195,
201, 219, 234, 241, 243, 248,
249, 250, 253, 258, 258(n), 259-
260, 261, 264-265, 273, 278, 290,
294, 301, 316, 317
Surgad, 282(n)
Suwali, 258(n), 259, 260, 261, 265
Sweden, 145
- T
- Tadri, 116(n)
Tangan, 29
Tanjore (Chindawer-ar. Chanda-
war), 29(n), 127(n), 190, 193(n),
212(n), 220, 318(n)
Tanjavar Yethil Shilala, 127(n)
Tanoji Palkar, 128(n)
Tapti, 258(n)
Tarale, 128(n)
Tavernier, 319, 321
- Taylor, Raudolph, 319
Tegnapathan, 192, 194, 200, 203,
206, 216, 217, 219, 226, 233,
234, 235
Telegu, 232(n)
Terpassur, 121
Tevaram, 227(n)
Thana, 51(n), 117(n)
The Army of the Indian Mughals,
53(n), 56(n), 86(n), 87(n), 91(n),
103(n)
The English Factories in India,
33(n), 35(n)
The Portuguese in India, 116(n)
Thevnot, 29(n), 31(n), 40(n), 61(n),
139(n), 141(n), 320
Thomas Niccolls, 241
Thurston, 231(n), 232(n)
Timurid, 140(n)
Tindivanam, 190(n)
Tinnevely, 231(n)
Tipkee, 274, 276(n)
Tipu, 186(n)
Tirukoilur, 199(n), 200(n)
Tiru-silla-palli, 227(n)
Tiruvadi, 193, 197, 200, 201, 202,
204, 213(n)
Tiruvalur (Trivalur Tribilitore), 121,
320
Tiruvannamalai, 190(n)
Tiruvannanallur, 200
Todar Mal, 118(n)
Toquenambat, 201
Tratados da India, 46(n), 174(n)
Travancore, 121(n)
Travels in India, Tavernier, 319,
321
Travels in the Moghul Empire,
Bernier, 102(n), 139(n), 158(n),
319, 321
Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot,
31(n), 32(n), 135(n)
Trichinopoly, 193(n), 199(n), 227,
228, 229
Trichinopoly Gazetteer, 193(n)
Trimbak Pandit, 47(n)
Trivandrum, 122(n)
Trumbeek Nasser, 318
Tuka Bai, 193(n)
Tyágaráyasvámi, 122(n)
- U
- Udhana (Utena, Oudena), a village
near Surat, 248, 321
Uguris (Ugargol), 47
Ulundurpetta (Onlourpatan), 199
Umbrao, 53, 83, 85, 97, 99
- V
- Vadi, 47(n)
Vaigai, 190(n)

- Vajragarh, 58(n)
 Valcondah, 193(n)
 Valdou, 195, 196, 198, 199, 204, 206, 210
 Valentyne, 247, 321
 Vali, 193(n)
 Vahkandapuram, 193
 Van Adrichen, 258
 Vangoeji (Vangu Gi) Rajah, 247, 321
 Vattaw, 276(n)
 Vellar, 205(n)
 Vellore (Vealou), 197, 199, 204, 213, 233, 317(n), 318(n)
 Verem, 46(n)
 Vijaynagar (Bisnaga), 44(n), 186(n), 190(n), 319
 Vikram Shah, 174(n)
 Villupuram, 199(n), 200(n)
 Vindhya, 119(n)
 Vmgula, 32(n), 34(n), 47, 48, 152(n), 253, 260
 Virai, 29
 Visaji Pant, 128(n)
 Vishnu, 82(n), 122(n)
 Vithal Pildev Atrc Garadkar, 242(n)
 Vithoji Mohite Newaskar, 128(n)
 V lup Lickmedas, 295
 (A) Voyage to Suat, Ovington, 320
 Vvankaji, 29(n), 214(n)
- W
- Wagensvelt, 262
 "War in Indostan", 193(n), 198(n), 215(n)
 Wari, 247(n)
- X
- "Xivaji Maharaja Com sangue Portugues?", 29(n)
- Y
- Yusuf Adil Shah, 17(n), 319

